Drama in Further Education:
A Study in Cultural Marginality

A Thesis submitted for the Degree of PhD at the University of Warwick

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May 1990

ABSTRACT

This study is an attempt to explore and explain tensions and anomalies associated with the role of Drama in Further Education. An initial intuitive framework suggests that there may be a natural antithesis between the expressive ideology of Drama and the instrumental ideology of Further Education. The frameworks proposed for the exploration include cultural reproduction theory, whilst Drama is perceived as carrying the dilemmas and contraditions of its marginal status. A two-by-two dichotomy is proposed which combines an analysis of Further Education milieux as potentially 'transparent' or 'opaque', and the role of Drama as potentially 'instrumental' or 'expressive'.

The study moves accumulatively through three case studies. The first is an historical case assessing the extent, through two representative contrasting periods, to which the problems of Drama in Further Education can be said to reflect wider tensions and ambiguities pertaining to the role of Drama in culture at large. The second case study examines whether the legacy of Further Education is one of historical uncertainty and confusion, and whether Drama has responded in a consistent way to the cross-fire of ideas, interests and rhetorics of justification that it has found itself caught in. The third case study is an in-depth ethnography portrayal of the vicissitudes of Drama in a single institution, Sutton Coldfield College of Further Education, placed against a preliminary city-wide perspective concerning Further Education provision in Birmingham.

As a contribution to theory, the thesis seeks tentative generalizations from multi-site and cross-time case studies in several

areas, including cultural reproduction theory, modified to take account of sub-cultural tensions, and the moral behaviour and practical gambles associated with marginal subject areas in hostile milieux. It also takes an interactionist perspective on the ploys and strategies by which participants in the contested areas manage the problems of their potentially deviant identities, an account in which the collaborators and fifth columnists have their places. A final consideration is the extent to which the forces of social control in the colleges operate by hegemonic consent or by coercion in seeking to curb and contain Dramatic activity.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am extremely grateful for the secretarial and technical services and personal support of Heather Meldrum, Jill Perry and Pat Scott.

But without the unstinting support of three people in particular, this thesis could neither have been attempted nor completed. To Peter Baughan Howell, to David Jenkins and to Josephine Baughan, therefore, this work is dedicated.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABC		A Basis For Choice
AEB		Associated Examining Board
ALE		Association for Liberal Education
BEC		Business Education Council
BTEC		Business and Technical Education Council
CGLI	or	City and Guilds The City and Guilds of London Institute
CPVE		Certificate in Pre-Vocational Education
DES		Department of Education and Science
ET		Employment Training
FE		Further Education
FEU		Further Education Curriculum Review and Development Unit
HMI		Her Majesty's Inspectorate
GCSE		General Certificate of Secondary Education
IIM		Institute of Industrial Managers
JFHE		Journal of Further and Higher Education
Joint Board		Joint Board for Pre-Vocational Education (CGLI/BTEC)
LCCI		London Chamber of Commerce and Industry
LEA		Local Education Authority
MSC		Manpower Services Commission
NATFHE		National Association of Teachers in Further and Higher Education
NEBSS		National Examining Board for Supervisory Studies
NNEB		Nursery Nurse Examining Board
RSA		Royal Society of Arts
SCCFE		Sutton Coldfield College of Further Education
TEC		Training and Enterprise Councils
TRIST		TVEI-Related In-Service Training
TVEI		Technical and Vocational Education Initiative
WEA		Workers' Education Association
WMAC		West Midlands Advisory Council for Further Education
YOPS		Youth Opportunities Programme
YTS		Youth Training Scheme

CHAPTER ONE:

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM AND THE APPROACH TAKEN

1. Starting Out: The Observed Anomalies

From personal observation in non-advanced Further Education, it had become obvious that the role of Drama in colleges is both awkward, and at times anomalous. It is awkward because Drama fits uneasily into a form of education that has been conceived of as broadly vocational. In particular, the espoused (although sometimes tactically under-acknowledged) expressive goals of Drama would appear to be in some tension with the assumptions of a skills-based pedagogical environment which forms the foundation of Technical and Further Education.

From reflecting on personal experience and from informal professional conversations with others, it was possible to identify the emergence of a number of settled uncertainties or anomalies, that were to cohere as an aggregate puzzle which initiated the research problem at the heart of this thesis. They included at least the following:

(i) Widespread disagreement over the value and purpose of Drama in non-advanced Further education. At the extremes two camps have appeared, one vociferously asserting the value and importance of Drama in relation to a whole variety of subjects of study, the other denying even its basic legitimacy as an important expressive subject in the curriculum of Further Education.

(ii) Abrupt shifts across time in public policy, robbing Further Education of a set of stable assumptions against which its individual contributions may be 'placed'. The uncertainty has been heightened, not only by the waning or waxing influence of particular competing agencies,

but by the insecurity of position evidenced by the agencies themselves. For example, the MSC at its inception in 1973 concentrated upon subjects exemplifying practical hands-on experience, repudiating any need or value for Drama.[1] Yet five years later, its policies for the long term unemployed were in part grounded upon what Drama teachers would recognise as dramatic technique.[2]

(iii) A general acceptance that policy for the Drama area of the Further Education curriculum is problematic, ragged, unsettled, and open to debate. The area has become unusually contested, with individuals and groups treating it as an arena for debating, in microcosm, some of the broader policy dilemmas experienced in the colleges.

(iv) The emergence of a multiplier effect. Much dramatic activity seemingly has the ability to clarify discord, focus discontent and bring out into the open some of the value positions and assumptions underlying debate, in relation to which Drama is not infrequently pressed into the role of a paradigm example. Drama also polarizes and forces choice, so that the very activity promotes institutional learning in the sense put forward by Schon, labelled 'dynamic conservatism'.[3] Dramatic activity has the capacity to heighten issues in some controversial areas, for example racism and institutional policy. For those who are directly involved in using dramatic idiom to explore conflict, Drama seems to offer potential local resolutions, offering a channel for 'articulating the consciousness of the masses'.[4]

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1 Department of Employment, Employment and Training Act, H.M.S.O., London, 1973.
2 M.S.C., Restart Training Programme, London, M.S.C., 1986, p. 4.
3 Donald A. Schon, Beyond the Stable State: Public and Private Learning in a Changing Society, London, Temple Smith, 1971, pp. 31-60.
4 George Lichtheim, Lukacs, Fontana/Collins, London, 1970, p. 40.

The four perceived settled uncertainties and anomalies established what could be termed a provisional intuitive framework, capable of being refined into a systematic investigation, and thus formed into the basis for a formal analysis. If indeed these persistent dilemmas and antinomies exist, they clearly require reasoned explanation.

It seemed clear that before further investigation could be attempted, it would be necessary to consider what boundaries might most advantageously be placed on the research problem. It soon became obvious that however stark and suggestive was the configuration of the problem as originally perceived, it was also unusually complex and multi-faceted. The need to bring order to this complexity resulted, as will be seen, in a multi-faceted strategy.

2. The Research Problem

This thesis takes as its research problem the need to map the tensions and ambiguities surrounding the role of Drama in Further Education, to find explanations for them, and to consider their implications for colleges of Further Education. Behind this particular focussed problem lurk broader issues requiring to be unravelled, in particular the place of Drama in society, the natures of Further Education and Educational Drama, and some consideration of the multi-faceted role of Drama in Further Education. Some preliminary remarks on these broader questions are offered next.

a) What is Drama?

One potential source of tensions and ambiguities is the equivocal, multi-faceted nature of Drama itself, which might appear at times a little quixotic. It is, however, possible to identify four propositions that seem persistently to characterize the activity of Drama.

Firstly Drama is a channel and opportunity for testing often otherwise unexamined propositions against the explorations and insights by which the Arts imaginatively chart personal and social experience. Since some of the models by which the world is conventionally understood are characterized by impositions from dominant social groups, it offers the possibility of challenge from the authority of personal knowledge. Since Drama routinely checks imaginatively against experience, it is to that extent apparently harder to 'co-opt' into a non-conflictual dominant order. Drama is rarely totally subservient; even when invited to supper, it can sometimes be an unruly guest.

The second proposition is that Drama exemplifies a basic human need for expressive realization. Chambers argues that by

> considering the earliest manifestations, it is possible to see more clearly how Drama is linked with the central desire of man to find form, pattern and purpose in his very existence.[1]

One implication of this view of the root affiliations of Drama with the personal expressive area is that it is likely to be uncomfortable in settings that stress instrumental learning. Although capable of making 'accommodations', either truly or with an element of guile, Drama may well continue to hanker after the expressive roots that nourish it.

Thirdly, Drama possesses 'political unreliability' in its relationship with dominant symbolic orders, at times appearing to reinforce and triumphalize, at times to challenge or undermine. This proposition is close to the research problem as perceived in this thesis, as an attempt is made to relate the anomalies surrounding Drama in Further Education to similar anomalies surrounding the role of Drama across time and across cultural conditions.

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[1] E.K. Chambers, 'Human Needs and the Drama', in John Hodgson, (ed.), The Uses of Drama: Acting as a Social and Educational Force, Eyre Methuen, London, 1972, pp. 33-43, pp. 33-34.

Finally Drama is seen as a catalyst effective in social and cultural change, both responding quickly to shifts and acting as a catalyst by synthesising new awareness. Although this proposition is relatively easy to establish in relation to the broad role of Drama in societies during transitional periods, it is initially more speculative. A potential explanation of the position of Drama in Further Education is one that this thesis seeks to address.

b) The Place of Drama in Society

No analysis of the role of Drama in contemporary Further Education could avoid taking a view of the range, scope and limits of the broader social and cultural roles which Drama might legitimately occupy in historical or contemporary societies.

A cursory non-specialist glance at the historical roles of Drama demonstrates them to be varied and even antithetical to each other. The role of Drama in the Medieval Church, for example, as a reinforcement and celebration of religious belief[1], is a vivid contrast to its role in supporting political satire in Puritan England. One of the more sinister faces of Drama was on show in Nazi Germany in the:

> open-air theatres known as 'Thingstatten,' where every device of stagecraft and mass suggestion was used to promote a mystical feeling of oneness and exaltation, and a willing acceptance, as under an hypnotic power of everything the State ordained[2]

Such an aggregate ambiguity of role, attested even at this superficial level of historical generalization, foreshadowed some of the same tensions and anomalies which were noted as characterizing the contemporary role of Drama within Further Education. As the research has

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1 Philip A. Coggin, Drama and Education, Thames and Hudson, London, 1956, pp. 44-54.

2 Coggin, Drama and Education, p. 258.

an historical dimension, although not a specialist one, it has been necessary to develop some caution against the pitfalls of historical enquiry, such as the dangers of 'periodisation' and 'historical semantics'; but it is certainly possible to suggest, following Marwick, that a historical perspective may be legitimately attached to the analysis of a particular phenomenon.[1]

A natural line of enquiry opened up by these questions would be to examine more closely some of the wider ascribed or achieved historical and cultural roles associated with Drama. This analysis might tentatively establish whether there is any commonality or consistency in the current and often confusing setting of Further Education.

Three principal interwoven lines of enquiry concerning the place of Drama in the wider society will be considered in this thesis. The first strand attempts to trace the extent to which the role of Drama in Further Education is a reflection in microcosm of its wider contested role in society; this view can be seen as opposed to the only decent alternative explanation, that the problems, tensions and anomalies that surround it in Further Education are a specific product of the setting.

The second and related strand of enquiry is concerned with establishing the conditions under which it may be possible to attempt the first question, whether the role of Drama in Further Education is in some sense microcosmic, for there has been insufficient analysis of the kinds of role likely to be played by Drama in society under various historical conditions. Before treating Further Education as an 'instance', it is necessary to draw tentative conclusions about the 'class of instances' from which it is drawn. Hence two subsequent chapters of this thesis are

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[1] Arthur Marwick, Common Pitfalls in Historical Writing, Bucks, Open University Press, 1970, p. 59.

concerned with the role of Drama in historical settings. The two chapters may be regarded as broad cases in which the relationships of Drama to culture at large, and to emerging Further Education, are examined as a backcloth to the contemporary roles of Further Education. Chapter Two, Drama in Two Historical Settings, analyses the cultural roles and operations of Drama in two different forms of cultural dominance. The first part of the examination is concerned with the place of Drama under stable conditions when the dominance of the Church would seem to allow no room for challenge or alternative systems of interpretation. The second part of the examination in this Chapter is concerned with the actions and reactions of those associated with Drama in a society which was clearly unstable by virtue of overt civil strife.

Chapter Three, Further Education: Its Predecessors and Evolution, addresses the question of how far Drama was involved in the development of Further Education which took place over a considerable distance of time and across widely varying political, social and economic conditions.

It is possible to draw tentative but relevant comparisons that link both of the historical case studies with contemporary Further Education, in that the 'clients' of Further Education, generally regarded as the vocationally-directed proletariat, have suggestive equivalents in the periods under review. For example, Medieval Drama was popular urban Drama, and its audiences were in an ordinary sense the politically weak being 'taught' by the politically strong. The theatres of the Reformation shared Medieval Drama's popular appeal, although their content could be more potently directed against the dominant group, the consequence of which was to be curtailment of subject matter, and eventually curtailed access. The increasing need for skilled artisans in

times of growing economic complexity also prefigured trade and craft involvement in a form of 'instruction' which did not threaten elite traditions of 'education'. Both the Catholic and the Reforming Churches' use of dramatic techniques in sermons and preaching indicate recognition of a proletarian audience whose human needs for interest and involvement must be satisfied if continued support is to be sustained.

c) Further Education and Educational Drama

It may be useful at this point to offer a preliminary analysis of Further Education and Educational Drama. Both Further Education and Drama in Education, as separate entities, lack positive statutory identities. Before moving on to a detailed examination of any potential relationship between them, therefore, it is insufficient to say that Further Education, like Topsy, has 'just growed'[1] or that Educational Drama is 'doing theatrics'.[2] Some kind of provisional mapping of the territory is required.

One way into the complexities of Further Education is to consider its basis in legislation. The statutory obligations imposed upon Local Education Authorities by Section 41 of the 1944 Education Act have been subject to considerable criticism. They impose a statutory duty upon Local Education Authorities to provide

> adequate facilities for Further Education under two headings: a) 'full-time and part-time education for persons over compulsory school age'; and b) 'leisure time occupation in such organized cultural training and recreative activities as are suited to their requirements, for any persons over compulsory school age who are able and willing to profit by the facilities provided for that purpose.'[3]

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1 Leonard Cantor and I.F. Roberts, Further Education in England and Wales, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, Second Edition, 1972, p. ix.

2 Betty Jane Wagner, Dorothy Heathcote: Drama as a Learning Medium, London, Hutchinson, 1980, p. 13.

3 Quoted in Leonard M. Cantor, and I.F. Roberts, Further Education Today, A Critical Review, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 2nd Edition, 1983, p. 11.

The criticism began with the unsatisfactorily vague definition of Further Education put forward in the 1944 Education Act. It was concerned mainly with the failure to distinguish between the multitude of facets which potentially comprise 'Further' Education, for example between Adult, Further, Continuing, or Technical Education.[1] Such a blurring of functions may, however, have a certain usefulness, according to many commentators, providing a 'heterogeneous'[2] context in which a multitude of educational needs are met, 'free from erratic interference'.[3] Given the continued application, then, of the 1944 Education Act with regard to Further Education[4], its guiding framework - and the one which underpins all references to Further, Continuing, Technical or Adult Education, in this thesis - was negatively defined by Peters as what remains when other forms of provision are excluded:

> Education intended primarily for persons who have left school ... excluding ... the provision of universities, university colleges (and polytechnics) ... secondary schools and colleges of education, which are not contained in authorities' schemes of Further Education.[5]

Even in 1989, following the rationalization programme promised by the National Council for Vocational Qualifications, both the setting and the curriculum of Further Education remained ill-defined. In an address to the Further Education sector, the Secretary of State for Education and Science acknowledged the 'Cinderella'[6] role attributed to Further

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1 P.F.R. Venables, Technical Education, London, Bell and Sons, 1956, p. 3.
2 A.J. Peters, A Guide to the Study of British Further Education, Bucks, N.F.E.R., 1967, p. 5.
3 H.J. Edwards, The Evening Institute, London, National Institute of Adult Education, 1961, p. 171.
4 Leonard M. Cantor and I.F. Roberts, Further Education Today, A Critical Review, (Second Edition), London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1983, p. 11.
5 A.J. Peters, p. 6.
6 Department of Education and Science, (Rt Hon Kenneth Baker), Further Education: A New Strategy. Speeches on Education, D.E.S., London, 1989, p. 5.

Education, adding that the choice of vocational qualifications was, for many young people, 'like walking into a fog'.[1] Given that over 43% of 16 and 17 year olds were directly involved in some form of Further Education during the academic year 1987-1988,[2] although the true figures of adult participation in Further Education remain uncharted, the 'fog' surrounding Further Education appears to be very widespread indeed.

Although the confusion between the different facets of Further Education (i.e. Further, Continuing, Post-School, Adult, Technical) will remain, and will be reflected in a contextually-varied usage of these terms within the thesis, it avoids any arbitrary distinctions between the complex and interwoven strands. It also permits an exploration of the often 'makeshift' arrangements for 'Further Education'[3] prior to any official provision, allowing for an historical investigation of what Edwards termed the 'remarkable powers of survival'[4] of 'Further Education' across time and cultural conditions.

The precise cultural identity of Drama in Education is as hard to pin down as Further Education. Most of the definitions are partial, stressing one or two facets and excluding others. Rowntree's comparative definition (in which performance is denigrated) typifies the tensions between the aesthetic and pedagogic capabilities of the subject:

> Drama in Education The emphasis has shifted from the public performance of published plays by a small group of children (largely for the prestige of the school) towards the general participation by all children in the classroom. Dramatisation of scenes and incidents and ideas in various subjects as a means of creative expression and imaginative growth through role-play and identification with others.[5]

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1 ibid., p. 15.
2 ibid., p. 23.
3 H.J. Edwards, pp. 13-64.
4 ibid., p. 170.
5 D. Rowntree, A Dictionary of Education, London, Harper and Row, 1981, p. 72.

As with the broad identification of Further Education, this thesis chooses to present a broadly-based definition of Drama in Education, hoping to avoid a subjective or fragmented portrayal of the discipline. This stance has a powerful antecedent in Coggin's seminal work, Drama and Education, as Coggin admits all forms of Drama to the educational arena in his study of the relationship between the two from the schools of Hellas to the mid-twentieth century. Following Coggin's lead, this thesis explores the possibility that all forms of Drama - including plays, performance, theatre, pantomime, discussion, scripts, puppetry, improvisation, and gaming - may potentially have an effect upon the instruction or education of those beyond the years that comprise the cultural demarcation of formal schooling.

It seems clear that there is some kind of ideological and cultural mis-match between the prevalent assumptions of Drama and Further Education. Our next task is to chart some of the dimensions of this mismatch. Most of the summarizing expressions in the literature for Educational Drama tend to take their cue from those aspects of Drama that further individual expression. The flavour of such descriptions is both heavily expressive and strongly individualistic. For example, one trite but well-known account holds Educational Drama to be primarily concerned 'with the individuality of individuals'.[1]

Conversely, Further Education tends to be described and justified in strictly instrumental and utilitarian terms. Further Education, it has been argued, 'exists primarily to serve the needs of industry, commerce and the professions'.[2] This relationship between legitimate provision and vocational need has been referred to as an example of

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1 Brian Way, Development Through Drama, London, Longmans, 1967, p. 3.
2 Adrian Briston/D.E.S., Inside the Colleges of Further Education, London: H.M.S.O., 1970, p. 10.

'environmental determinism', and is common as a justification for the programmes of the colleges.[1] It is a role which is widely accepted within Further Education itself, as the seminal document A Basis for Choice illustrates:

> For design purposes, much of the curriculum needs to assume a general ... orientation ... towards a given area of employment. It should provide a basis from which some students might develop preferences, and provide a means of checking the preferences of others who might have ill-informed or unrealistic aspirations.[2]

One is perhaps tempted initially to argue that there is an unavoidable persistent antinomy between the underlying assumptions that inform Drama and those that inform Further Education. In the extreme version of the argument, Further Education serves the needs of the dominant groups in society in an instrumental way, providing 'fodder for industry' in order to secure a supply of human spare parts for the skilled tasks essential to the continuation of economic life:

> The Technical College celebrates the idea of useful, practical knowledge. In the College the instrumental has pride of place over the expressive; its students are mainly young adults whose general socialization is felt to be complete and whose favourable orientation is assumed from their voluntary attendance.[3]

Most formal attempts to categorize the milieu of Further Education point to this strong instrumental orientation. For example, King's account asserts a consistently instrumental ideology, affecting work relationships, attitudes towards time, types of social control and related theoretical constructs. King's account is particularly

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1 Ronald King, School and College: Studies of Post-School Education, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1976, p. 99.

2 Further Education Unit, A Basis for Choice, (Mansell Report) F.E.U., 1979, p. 12.

3 King, School and College, p. 156.

interesting since in contrast with schools-based relatively generous access to expressive forms, Further Education appears to offer minimal opportunities for expressive education:

Figure 1 School and College: Identities

	School	College
'Ideology'	Explicitly 'the school as a community'	Implicitly 'the college as an association'
Ascerting groups	Headteachers, teachers	Principals, lecturers
Consonant identity	Headteacher as leader	Principal as entrepreneur
Public image	Widespread and reasonably clear	Diffuse and out-of-date
Assumed significant relationships	Enduring, affective, diffuse, wide scope of interest	Temporary, affectively neutral, contractual, partial, narrow scope of interest
Expected sentiments	Pride, feeling of belonging, loyalty, and duty	Sentiments private
	Stress on privileges	Stress of rights
	Strong control of pupil culture	Little control of student culture
Time orientation	Transcendental	Strongly present and future
		'New better than old'
Instrumental/expressive distinction	Expressive emphasis	Instrumental emphasis
	'Character development'	'Useful skills'
	Knowledge intrinsically valuable	Knowledge extrinsically valued
Organisational control	Administration and management tolerated or regretted. Bureaucracy an unfortunate necessity	Administration and management celebrated. Efficient bureaucracy admired
	Much ritual	Little ritual
	Increasing size a problem	Increasing size a goal
	Strong age-stratification	Little age-stratification
'Consonant ideologies'	Paedeocentricity-development	Voluntarism and consumerism
'Institutional reference'	Public school archetype, universities	Work organisations
'Theoretical linkages'		
Tonnies	Gemeinschaft	Gesellschaft
Weber	Traditional legitimacy	Rational legitimacy
	Cultivated man image	Specialist man image
Durkheim	Mechanical solidarity	Organic solidarity

It is self-evident that this is not an ideological milieu ideally suited to the growth of 'expressive' subjects like Educational Drama.

The contrasting ideology of Educational Drama may be seen as representing and serving largely individualistic interests through its commitment to individual expression. Yet if this is at heart what a commitment to Educational Drama entails, then it certainly has on occasion adopted some odd disguises. Its place on programmes having a clear instrumental orientation has been defended by putting it in servitude to goals not its own, ranging from being 'a key element in adapting to new work conditions'[1] to providing 'longer-term generalizable skills',[2] often as a means of combatting the threat of unemployment.[3]

This apparent subversion or subjugation of Drama in some circumstances to instrumental ends warrants explanation, perhaps testifying eloquently to the overt power of Further Education's instrumental ideology. Yet as will be seen later, the infiltration is by no means one-sided, and both Drama and Further Education tend not to allow themselves to be trammelled in this way. Various accommodations are unremarkable and normal, and quite opposed views of the world appear to achieve uneasy coexistence, although tensions abound. Also there is no particular reason to suppose that diverse or antithetical cultural components cannot, in post-industrial pluralistic cultures, coexist uneasily, albeit with difficulty, bequeathing a legacy of practical and theoretical problems. Indeed, this possibility lies close to the very definition of pluralistic cultures. As early as 1871, Tylor was viewing culture as a complex, widely encompassing entity:

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1 Richard Shannon, 'M.S.C. Youth Team', Drama Broadsheet, Vol. 2, No. 2, N.A.T.D., 1984, pp. 11-12.

2 F.E.U., Replan: Training Adults, London: F.E.U., 1986, pp. 28-39.

3 Philip Smith, 'Lecturers Snub Skills Courses', Birmingham Evening Mail, 29 July 1987, p. 11.

> Culture is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities acquired by man as a member of our society.[1]

Tylor's view was to be extended in Williams' work, The Long Revolution, which suggests that aspects of culture can be 'separately described',[2] so that a pluralistic culture might contain potentially conflicting cultural components, interacting in creative tension. Further Education, it can be argued, has its own institutional sub-culture which allows it to assert its own preferred instrumental solutions, but without much overt reference to expressive needs. This immediately raises the question of whether any particular incarnation of Drama in the curriculum of Further Education will be in one of two roles, either that of the prisoner brought captive within the gates, or that of the fifth columnist or Trojan horse, intent on subverting the institution that has admitted it. But also there is at least a theoretical possibility of a dichotomy between 'manifest' and 'latent' roles, and some room for the employment of distortion or guile as survival ploys by Drama teachers in what they perceive to be a hostile environment.

Given the persistent awkwardness underlying the potentially antithetical roles of Drama and Further Education, it might be useful to explore the different uses of Drama, and some of the different perceptions held of it. The Further Education Staff College report The Arts and Further Education, for example, emphasized its regret at the lack of arts in Further Education:

> It is a matter of regret that the MSC appears unwilling to recognise the importance of the training opportunities available in the arts industry.[3]

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1 E.B. Tylor, Primitive Culture, Vol. 1, 1871, reprinted, London, 1924, p. 1.

2 Raymond Williams, The Long Revolution, Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1965, p. 65.

3 F.E.S.C., The Arts and Further Education, Bristol, Coombe Lodge, Vol. 16, No. 9, 1983, pp. 387-388.

Interestingly, the projected solution was to subsume the Arts under the purely instrumental definitions advanced. The perceived relevance of Drama to Further Education in this model is that it offers an arena for entrepreneurial economic activity, and the development of skills that are commercially exploitable. Seen in this light, some Drama activity meets the vocational criteria of Further Education. Sometimes an extreme instrumental view underpins arguments seeking to exclude the Creative Arts, as in:

> we do not want to give our students Art because they are going to be hairdressers.[1]

All the available evidence suggests that Drama exists patchily in Further Education, often not as a subject in its own right but employed as a service agent by other subjects, many of which can be shown to have highly instrumental curriculum ideologies. An interesting illustration of this was, paradoxically, MSC's practical recognition of Drama both as a set of pedagogic activities on training schemes and as a 'local community project' under the Community Enterprise Programme.[2] The Sociable Theatre in Nottingham, for example, was sponsored for over four years as a Community Theatre Group by MSC, providing general education, as well as vocational experience and employment guidance, for its trainees.[3]

At the other end of the ideological spectrum, Drama appears to have penetrated the curriculum of Further Education in its own right. Arguably, the instrumental ideology of Further Education can be substantially eroded from within its own ranks by its own entrepreneurial activities. Many Further Education colleges see themselves as 'alternative' providers of the whole academic curriculum, and Drama has

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1 ibid., p. 364.
2 R. Shade and P. Gladhill, 'Skills-Based Learning: Redefining a Drama Course' Dramabout, Spring 1983, N.A.T.F.H.E., p. 7.
3 ibid.

been released, under this general amnesty, in the guise of 'O' and 'A' level examinable subjects, where it is offered as a high prestige, minority academic subject, attracting high calibre students in the 'second-rank' sector where interestingly the examination was initially piloted.[1]

d) The Multi-Faceted Role of Drama in Further Education

The next possibility that we need to consider is whether the dispersed and multi-faceted roles that can be played by Drama themselves contribute to the ambiguities noted. The question which must be addressed is whether Drama provides an extensive 'menu' from which selections can be made according to historical circumstance, political need, or personal preference. The diverse and slippery identity of Educational Drama seems in principle capable both of contributing to the problem by adding to the complexities, and facilitating particular solutions by offering a mechanism for getting around externally-imposed restraints. Drama specialists use the multi-facedness of Drama as a kind of disguise, seeking, like T.S. Eliot's J. Alfred Prufrock, to 'prepare a face' to 'meet the faces' that they meet.[2]

The flexible nature of Educational Drama is widely acknowledged; Way, for example, identifies the faces or facets of Drama as an art, a tool of learning, a method of experiencing, an activity, an academic discipline, an aspect of individual development and communication.[3] This list could be extended, or indeed challenged, but it would serve no purpose at this point to raise in detail more general issues well explored in the literature about what constitutes Educational Drama, for

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1 See, for example, the Prospectus of Stratford-upon-Avon College, 1974.

2 T.S. Eliot, 'The Love Song of J. Alfred Prufrock' in Philip Larkin, (ed.), The Oxford Book of Twentieth Century English Verse, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1973, pp. 228-232.

3 Adapted from Brian Way, Development Through Drama, London, Longmans, 1967, Chapter One, 'The Functions of Drama', pp. 1-9.

example the detailed and vociferous debate about the differences between 'Drama' and 'Theatre'.[1] The immediate relevance of the particular categorization offered is that it is in agreement with alternative pedagogical practices, and has suggestive links with the various ideological positions that underpin the subsequent analysis of Further Education provision. The diverse and dispersed identity of Drama is partly a result of its hybrid nature, which offers a 'menu' from which selections can be made.

It remains, however, a major problem in this study to identify what it is in practical terms, particularly in Further Education. In Education Survey No.2: Drama, for example, Allen notes:

> The question that we have continually asked ourselves is this: does there exist ... a discipline that can be defined or identified as Drama? Who is to teach it?[2]

The absence of a clearly delineated functional role for Educational Drama is critically important in Further Education. As King has pointed out, the Further Education tradition remains overtly based upon the principles of voluntarism and consumerism, in which vocational education and training for narrowly-defined goals take precedence over other educational considerations.[3] This manifest tradition has created severe problems for the limited number of specialist Drama teachers in Further Education, whose representatives on the National Association of Teachers in Further and Higher Education have acknowledged that

> Drama is often held in suspicion because it is seen as being either insufficiently academic or insufficiently skill-based to warrant being treated as a subject in its own right. In addition, pupils themselves can be influenced by the way in which Drama is treated to the extent that they too have an ambivalent attitude towards the subject, uncertain of its

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1 ibid., p. 2.
2 D.E.S., Education Survey No 2: Drama, (John Allen), H.M.S.O., 1967.
3 King, pp. 98-102.

> worth in their attempts to gain employment or access to Higher Education.[1]

The resulting situation can be seen as deeply paradoxical. Drama itself is regarded with widespread suspicion, yet pedagogical approaches and methodologies ultimately derived from Drama permeate the curriculum of Further Education. It is almost as if Educational Drama were from time to time seen as an attempt to emasculate Drama from its threatening connotations and bring it captive within the gates.

In no sense can this shady process be treated as defining Educational Drama, which remains elusive, even as its protagonists travel disguised or incognito in often hostile territories. As already illustrated by Allen,[2] and graphically illuminated in Wilks' statement that Drama's protagonists are 'disciples in search of a discipline',[3] the problem of definition is a long-standing and difficult one. However insightful an analysis of the roles adopted by Drama in Further Education, its contribution to the quest for the 'essence' of Drama can at best be limited and indirect. It is beyond the scope of this thesis to attempt to answer

> the important questions (that) cannot be accurately phrased and the nature of the subject that cannot be properly identified.[4]

Within the limits of this study, however, it may be possible to offer some answers to Allen's less demanding question: 'When we speak about Drama in school or on the timetable what do we mean?'[5]

In practical terms this task involves a labelling procedure to categorise some meeting points between Drama and Further Education.

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1 Shade and Gladhill, p. 4.
2 Allen, Education Survey.
3 Brian Wilks, 'Disciples in Need of a Discipline', Drama in Education 3, edited by J. Hodgson and M. Banham, London, Pitman, 1975, pp. 93-101.
4 John Allen, Drama in Schools: its Theory and Practice, London, Heinemann, 1979, p. 72.
5 ibid.

Using information from current policy directives, and requirements or recommendations in externally validated courses of study in Further Education, a practical account needs to be given of how Drama occupies different slots in the curriculum. The account begins by affirming that although the 'natural' milieu of Drama may be that of stage or studio, its practices and actions are not restricted to these settings. In a very real sense, Drama is independent of its practical environment, capable of 'migration' across the curriculum because of its physical adaptability. The degree of this physical adaptability is evidenced by the acknowledged legitimacy of classroom Drama:

> Much Drama activity, especially in its early stages ... must be carried out in classrooms and not in the kind of studio or hall usually or ideally associated with Drama ... this situation, however, is not entirely inhibitory ... and the features of a classroom - may all be put to interesting and stimulating use ... the very familiarity of a classroom may act as a strong encouragement to the shy or reluctant student.[1]

This 'migratory' capability allows Drama potential space for manoeuvre in the active classroom settings of the curriculum of the 'new' Further Education. This is particularly evident in such areas as Media Studies, Personal and Social Development, Careers Guidance, Communication, Social Skills and Creative Development. In aggregate the Drama classroom has become the arena in which skills, conflicts, hypotheses, vocational aspirations and judgements are practised, rehearsed, tested, reviewed, assimilated or rejected in juxtaposition to 'real life' experiential conditions.[2]

A statement from the FEU document ABC in Action, demonstrates that such 'active' classroom strategy is formally and centrally encouraged:

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1 H. Francis, The Vocabulary of Educational Drama, Drama Board Association, 1981, pp. 5-6.

2 Joint Board, The Certificate of Pre-Vocational Education: A Consultative Document, London, 1984.

> A useful resource for any vocational preparation scheme is a well-equipped base room, with a good supply of learning materials so that students can engage in individual work when appropriate. Some colleges have well developed 'workshops' of this kind, especially for Communications, Numeracy, and related work, with a good supply of teaching aids (e.g. numeracy games, measuring equipment) and audio-visual equipment. Colleges are making extensive use of video, both for recording student activity (e.g. mock interview, role plays) and for providing stimulus material. One college had as a major part of its course a project designed to publicize the course for future students. As part of their work, small groups of students made TV 'commercials' about the course.[1]

The meeting points between Drama and Further Education can now be charted by identifying a series of 'clusters' of Dramatic activity observable in Further Education. The clusters are i) Characterization, ii) Discussion, iii) Dramatization, iv) Improvisation, v) Mime, Music and Movement, vi) Games and Play, vii) Psychodrama and Sociodrama, viii) Role Play, ix) Speech and Drama, and x) Theatre Studies. It will be evident from the subsequent brief analysis of each that they offer varying opportunities for Drama to interact with the Further Education curriculum.

i) Characterization

The deliberate creation of characters beyond the immediate experience of the individual displays at least two different forms in the curriculum of Further Education. It must be noted, however, that characterization, like many of the clusters identified, is not in typical circumstances a self-contained entity; all are subject to interaction both between themselves and with their context. There are a number of curriculum subjects where the appraisal of human performance is enhanced by the imaginative deployment of characterization. The predominant focus is on personal empathy, as Way indicates:

> It arises as much from personal inner development and sensitivity to other people as from actual practical

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[1] F.E.U., ABC in Action, London, F.E.U., (1983), Para. 49.

> opportunity to be different people in a manner that accords with one's own particular stage of development.[1]

This use of characterization is best exemplified by impromptu Drama in Theatre Studies, but the underlying theory and practice spills over also into other subjects in the curriculum. Characterization also acts as a focus for extending personal understanding as projected or 'planned experience'.[2] It is particularly evident, unsurprisingly, in the so-called 'caring' courses, although these are primarily vocational, leading to qualifications for working with the young, the old, or the handicapped. In these settings characterization is used deliberately to extend both the students' understanding and emotional range. Both of these examples of characterization tend to resist external ideological imposition and have the goal of developing the 'personal knowledge' of the individual student beyond present states.

There is, however, a form of characterization in the Further Education curriculum more closely tied to the confirmation of a class-bound hierarchical order. Role playing technical aspects of being 'chair' or 'secretary' in a BTEC student committee meeting, or projecting oneself five years into the future on a Restart course, serve mainly to reinforce and underline present conditions and positions. In these examples characterization is principally a pedagogic device or motivational tool. The analogy is with textual exposition, rather than textual or personal exploration.

ii) Discussion

It could be argued that all forms of discussion are potentially dramatic since discussion implies a democratic setting in which roles may be tested and challenged. Traditionally, however, Further Education

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1 Brian Way, Development Through Drama, London, Longmans, 1967, p. 175.
2 F.E.U., Who Cares?, London, F.E.U., 1982, p. 39.

courses have strongly tended not to feature discussion. An FEU Report labelled this 'the get-on-with-some-work syndrome'.[1] Where discussion has taken place in the Further Education classroom, it has often followed an artificial format, allowing little or no room for speculative interaction. The processes involved were described succinctly by Stubbs:

> Overall rules which they propose for the classroom dialogue are: that the teacher is the most active player; that, in general, the game is played within the teacher's structure; that the teacher's primary role is solicitor while the pupil's is respondent.[2]

Increasingly, however, the changing pedagogy of Further Education, particularly its utilization of role play and simulation, has allowed access to dramatic discussion. Discussion in role frees individuals from the obligation to represent themselves, generating an awareness of the deployment of self in a social context. It is, in the sense of fulfilment, 'a kind of end product'.[3]

Several subject areas in Further Education currently treat dramatic discussion as an examinable entity. These include the AEB's Advanced level GCE Communication Studies, in which 15% of the total examination mark is awarded for discussion: 'Delivery, pace, pause, variety, audience contact, use of space, body language, listening, response'.[4] There are also the English Speaking Board's Vocational Examinations, in which participant discussion forms one quarter of the final grade.[5]

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1 F.E.U., ABC in Action: A Report from an F.E.U./C.G.L.I. Working Party on the Piloting of a Basis for Choice, 1979-81, F.E.U., 1981, para. 90.

2 Michael Stubbs, Language, Schools and Classrooms, London, Methuen, 1976, (1985), p. 108.

3 Brian Way, Development Through Drama, p. 222.

4 A.E.B., 'A'level Communication Studies (608), 'Criteria for Assessment of Oral Examination', 1984, p. 9.

5 E.S.B., Vocational Examinations, (Grades I, II, III) Guidance Notes, Southport, E.S.B., 1986.

Equally significant is the incursion of discussion into the basic structural framework of the curriculum of Further Education. The document, A Basis for Choice (also known as ABC, or the Mansell Report), has been regarded as seminal.[1] Particularly relevant is its advocacy of a so-called 'negotiated curriculum',[2] in which process the participants consciously interact on the basis of reflection upon their current needs and projected aspirations to produce an individual programme. The teacher or trainer's role often approximates to that of a discussion participant.[3] Understandably, the technique is one that many lecturers have found threatening. This suggests that discussion has the power to be divisive, since in discussion perspectives may move beyond a consensual framework. It may be useful to note in passing that the impact of the negotiated curriculum has generated a widespread demand for staff training and development.[4]

iii) Dramatization

Although at first glance it might appear that the curriculum of Further Education has only narrow opportunities for dramatization in the sense that confines it to the specialist exploration of texts in Theatre Studies, it would be misleading to underestimate the robustness of this cluster. Dramatization, moreover, has proved extremely mobile in its guise as a pedagogical ploy capable of being deployed in a number of subject areas. It has long been accepted that dramatization is not only a support to the study of English Literature

> but a combined Art-form in which the words themselves are only among a number of components, so that a play, like score in Music, comes fully to life when it is performed.[5]

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1 F.E.U., A Basis for Choice.
2 F.E.U., Basis Skills, F.E.U., 1982, (1984), p. 113.
3 ibid.
4 B. Hollinshead and M. Kelly, 'A Case Study in Staff Development', Journal of Further and Higher Education, Vol. 8, No. 1, Spring 1985.
5 F. Whitehead, The Disappearing Dais, Chatto and Windus, 1966, p. 134.

The growth of Media Studies and case study methods of teaching and examining have extended dramatization beyond its traditional subject links.[1] Many subjects across the range of the Further Education curriculum use dramatization to bring realism to their unfulfilled scores. Teaching how to write an agenda, for example, makes little sense without some representation of the meeting which it purposes. The construction of a story-board is more comprehensible when its actions are physically portrayed. Negotiation, as a skill, cannot be internalized until it is practised. These examples all show dramatization moving outwards from its roots in Drama to become a pedagogical and motivating force across a range of Further Education subjects.

iv) Improvisation

Improvisation is an equally significant cluster showing how practices generated in the basic creative processes of Drama[2] have migrated across the Further Education curriculum. Essentially improvisation involves extemporization; it is

> a play without a script ... The great value of improvisation ... over every field of human behaviour and experience, is that it is entirely unlimited by any of the conventions that govern most scripted plays.[3]

Improvisation has infiltrated into many areas of the Further Education curriculum. In the acquisition of basic skills, in courses requiring communication, study skills, or problem solving approaches, A Basis for Choice advocates widespread pedagogical use of improvisation, since it is an effective method of

> bringing about a level of achievement in Literacy appropriate to ability and adequate to meet the basic demands of contemporary society.[4]

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1 J. McGuire and P. Priestly, Life After School: A Social Skills Curriculum, Oxford, Pergamon, 1981, Chapter 5.
2 Allen, p. 91.
3 Brian Way, Development Through Drama, p. 184.
4 A Basis for Choice, p. 29.

Social Education is now largely taught situationally through improvisation, role play and simulation, as the FEU Project Report, Beyond Coping, clearly demonstrates.[1] In Drama and Theatre Arts courses, both improvisation and polished improvisation form part of the examination syllabus.[2] It is in the unequivocally vocational areas, however, that improvisation, together with role playing and simulation, display their widest applicability. From pre-vocational 'taster' examples of work, and work-related, problems, to management studies of organizational conflict, the need for vicarious experience is answered by dramatic improvisation.[3] The rationale for the uses of such improvisation varies enormously, and will be examined more closely in a subsequent chapter on Drama in Contemporary Further Education. As with so many other facets of Drama, improvisation is subject to conflicting perceptions about its value. At one end of the spectrum, improvisation (together with role play and simulation) is regarded purely tactically, since

> where work experience is not possible to arrange, attention should be given to ways in which the demands of work can be simulated within the college or school. In any case, schemes should be designed to make students as 'active' as possible in their learning styles, with classroom and workshop activities arranged to give experience of some real job skills and standards.[4]

At the other end of the spectrum, far from being regarded as a poor substitute for real-life experience, improvisation is defended as the best established procedure through which the individual can achieve self-knowledge in relationship to the social environment.[5] But an

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1 F.E.U., Beyond Coping: Some Approaches to Social Education, F.E.U., August 1980.
2 A.E.B., Theatre Studies, G.C.E. 'A' level syllabus.
3 See Kenneth Porter, Case Studies in Human Relations, Macmillan, London, 1971, p. 11.
4 F.E.U., A.B.C. in Action, F.E.U., 1981 (1983), para. 16.iii.
5 Paul Pigors and Charles Myers, Personnel Administration, Tokyo, McGraw-Hill, 1956, 1977.

interesting complication has entered our account in that the curriculum mobility of dramatization attracts quite opposed rhetorics of justification. Lying behind the example is the question of whether the behaviour of Drama under 'expansionist' conditions is more likely to be unruly or remains under tight control.

v) Mime, Music and Movement

Mime, Music and Movement represent specialized or related dramatic forms, although they are all distinctive and standardised forms of expression and language. Their relationship to Educational Drama may itself be represented as marginal. Their bases of communication are non-verbal. In practice, Mime, Music and Movement occur widely in a sporadic way across the curriculum of Further Education. Their heartland, as might be expected, is in the syllabuses of Drama and the Theatre Arts,[1] but they also appear in Basic Skills, in which 'Aim Three' is designed

> to bring about continuing development of physical and manipulative skills in both vocational and leisure contexts, and an appreciation of those skills in others ... The students should: Develop an awareness of their physical and manipulative abilities through experience of both vocational and leisure activities, and understand the implications of these for future job choices ... Activities should include ... team games, gymnasium activities, dancing, pottery etc.[2]

They are also found in the two-year examination course for Nursery Nursing,[3] where they appear to be serving two separate purposes, assisting in the student's personal growth and development, but also encouraging transmission in the students' vocational practices. Allen considered the area so important that he commented:

> The sense of style that enables an infant teacher to vitalize a nursery song and a great conductor to reveal a symphony is

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1 A.E.B., Theatre Studies 'A' level.
2 F.E.U., Basic Skills, p. 47.
3 N.N.E.B., Music, Mime, Movement, Course Guidelines, London, N.N.E.B., 1987.

> essentially the same and it differs not in kind but only in degree.[1]

vi) Games and Play

Games and Play in Drama allow the structuring of experience within a fictive and safe context. This makes them valuable to those seeking in any subject area to develop an active, participatory but hopefully non-threatening learning situation:

> Students play out a working model of some real-world, human situation, e.g. negotiating the siting of a new airport or coping with a period of unemployment. They will be provided with background data, and with new information as the game proceeds. The game may also involve them in role-playing.[2]

Similar use is made of games and simulations in Further Education by Management and Supervisory Studies, where the protected environment encourages speculative risk-taking, allowing students to

> experiment and see the effects of their decisions, without any punitive effect.

vii) Psychodrama/Sociodrama

These are particularly interesting manifestations of Drama in Further Education, since they are what might be termed boundary categories, having achieved a legitimate role entirely as pedagogical devices operating on subject-matter determined by the host subject. Psychodrama is a form of Drama in which the plots, situations and roles, whether real or symbolic, reflect the actual problems of the person acting, and are not the work of a playwright.[3] Through Sociodrama, direct experience can be developed of confident practical everyday use of one's personal resources. The dramatic thrust is towards a particular kind of social Drama, and according to Way tends to cluster under three broad themes, manner and behaviour, aspects of general living, and

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1 D.E.S., Music in Schools, Educational Pamphlet No. 22, H.M.S.O., 1969, quoted in Allen, p. 81.
2 D. Rowntree, A Dictionary of Education, Harper and Row, 1981, p. 101.
3 J.L. Moreno, Sociometry, Vol. IX, No. 2-3, 1946.

broader social awareness.[1] These ideas were given practical impetus by a growth in 'Special Needs' provision in Further Education following the Warnock Report.[2]

Drama is used in many areas of Special Needs teaching, but perhaps the most visible manifestation has been the provision of educational television for mentally handicapped students and trainees.[3] The three BBC television series of 'Let's Go' were first broadcast between September 1978 and March 1983[4] and repeated from 1987. The programmes were presented by Brian Rix and mentally handicapped 'actors' were used.[5] The titles of the programmes were suggestive: Social Skills, Body Care, Learning Together, and Wider Horizons. Each was reinforced with workpacks containing sociodramatic materials.[6] Again the general point to make is that pedagogies having roots in Drama and dramatic activity have been able widely to infiltrate the Further Education curriculum. The dominant question is the extent to which an expressive ideology is likely to be 'exported' with the activity, and the effect this might have on the instrumental heartland of Further Education.

viii) Role Play

Role play is an activity central to Educational Drama, being a sine qua non for improvisation and simulation:

> It is a method of learning by experiment and practice, a rehearsal of experience.[7]

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1 Way, p. 287.
2 D.E.S., Special Educational Needs: Report of the Committee of Enquiry into the Education of Handicapped Children and Young People, (Warnock Report) H.M.S.O., 1978.
3 Alan Dean and Seamus Hegarty, (eds.), Learning for Independence: A Special Needs Document, F.E.U., 1984.
4 G. Croton, Let's Go: An Account of the B.B.C.'s Mental Handicap Project, 1976-1979, B.B.C., 1980.
5 Learning for Independence, p. 107.
6 ibid.
7 Francis, p. 33.

The fashionable and liberalizing interest in student-centred learning has given further emphasis to role play as a valued activity in the curriculum of Further Education, which itself has been facilitated by the migration of other Drama-derived clusters across the curriculum.

In role play, the participants project themselves into a fictitious situation, assuming attitudes which are not necessarily their own.[1] It is used for both personal and vocational education and training throughout Further Education, in basic skills training, academic subjects, and vocational areas.[2] It is increasingly evident in Business and Technician Education Council Courses. The BTEC National Diploma and Certificate Courses in Business unit, People in Organizations, for example, demands that all assignments are designed around a work-related scenario. The scenarios tend to explore relatively obvious situations:

> the committee meeting, the office move, or the takeover bid, involve the students in an active role play through which decisions are reached and course criteria fulfilled.[3]

Role play is by its own methods irredeemably individualistic and capable of producing empathetic insights that cut across received definitions. In many not untypical circumstances the understandings generated can be potentially subversive, and not easily subjected to formal control. This makes their deployment in the instrumental world of Further Education ideologically equivocal, and it is this equivocal or 'awkward' element that links this cluster to the general issue this thesis is seeking to explore.

ix) Speech

> The part played by language in Drama is crucial ... Speech in a make-believe situation is more accessible to the pupil than narrative speech, since the situation is already

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1 Cecily O'Neill, Alan Lambert, Rosemary Linnell, Janet Warr-Wood, Drama Guidelines, London, Heinemann, 1976, p. 61.
2 Shade and Gladhill, p. 26.
3 ibid.

> represented, and the speech remains in context. The talk does not remain in isolation, but is embedded in the situation, and is subject to inter-action and modification from the rest of the group ... Drama can provide a variety of experience which might otherwise remain inaccessible.[1]

Although 'Speech' or 'Oral Communication' appears a great deal in course directives and design criteria throughout Further Education, its relationship to the speech and language of Educational Drama is dubious. The first objective for Oral Communication in A Basis for Choice, for example, states that a student should

> speak audibly and give clear verbal explanations of processes/opinions/events to a variety of audiences.[2]

'A' level Communication Studies also emphasizes the importance of Speech, but judges it on the criteria of

> vocabulary and richness of ideas ... information giving, factual output, quality/quantity.[3]

The Group Secretarial Examinations of the London Chamber of Commerce and Industry also include oral examined interviews, the aim of which is

> to establish as far as possible whether or not candidates have the personality and aptitude to justify the award of the certificate. Candidates are expected to show they have received sufficient training in the oral aspects of a secretary's work to enable them to satisfy the requirements of middle management employers.[4]

None of these, however, indicate that element of projection, of extending the student's linguistic capacity beyond the limits of his immediate environment, which is central to Educational Drama.[5]

A Basis for Choice moves closer to the creative nature of Speech in its later Communication objectives:

> Experience and practice various kinds of verbal encounter, and evaluate their own strengths and weaknesses, e.g. negotiating, advising, persuading, justifying, using simulations, role-playing, mock-interviews, etc. Experience membership of, and practice communication in, a variety of

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1 O'Neill, et al, p. 15.
2 A Basis for Choice, p. 35.
3 A.E.B., Communication Studies, p. 9.
4 The London Chamber of Commerce and Industry Examinations Board Group Secretarial Examinations, 1985, p. 27.
5 Allen, p. 69.

groups, e.g. formal, informal; large; small; decision-making, task-centred; competitive and co-operative. Experience various roles in these groups, e.g. leader, recorder, participant, chairman.[1]

Although 'Speech' has proved relatively mobile in its capacity to penetrate the Further Education curriculum, its links with Educational Drama are perhaps too tenuous for it to perform any kind of 'missionary' role for an expressive ideology, except in conjunction with other features like simulation or role play.

x) Theatre Studies

Theatre Studies, as an examinable 'subject' in the curriculum of Further Education, clearly manifests the emergence of one coherent cluster of recognizable Drama activity. Theatre Studies courses possess high status, since their flavour is specifically academic and also linked to a prestigious cultural Art form. Both these features carry appeal to institutionally ambitious decision-makers.

Theatre Studies implies the presence of the dual components of performance and audience, as well as a concern for technical considerations associated with particular aspects such as design, direction, costume, lighting, construction, scenery and stage management. Theatre Studies in Further Education typically focusses on studying, through performance, plays written by established authors, as well as the analysis of texts.[2] The subject also gives attention to the personal needs of students, through improvisation, characterization, role play, and other 'extending' dramatic techniques. Drama, in Theatre Studies, is valued intrinsically, and not for its indirect role as a pedagogical tool. Nevertheless its perceived validity, seen as 'guaranteed' by external assessment in GCE and GCSE,[3] forces the institutional leadership

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1 A.B.C., p. 36.
2 Philip Coggin, Drama and Education, Chapter XX.
3 For example, A.E.B., Advanced Level Theatre Studies.

to take its epistemological and educational claims seriously. The ability of Drama to establish academically prestigious Theatre Studies courses almost certainly makes it easier for other vessels to follow in the wake of the flagship, notably Media Studies, but also the Theatre Technicians courses.[1] The cyclic tendency that this example demonstrates is for new areas of study to establish themselves through their academic credentials (even in vocationally-orientated Further Education) and then to take that new-found 'respectability' back towards new vocational offerings that may not otherwise have been considered.

The above analysis indicates clearly that the 'practices' of Educational Drama form a bewildering complexity. It seems clear, too, that Drama has various facets that allow variations at the points of contact with the curriculum of Further Education. This flexibility can in principle be exploited by entrepreneurial teachers of a variety of persuasions.

3. Theoretical Perspectives

The following section attempts to indicate which theoretical positions can be said to inform the study. Although it is acknowledged that the choice of a theory is in some senses analogous to adopting a political stance, the selection must be compatible with the basic task of bringing order to the data and offer *prima facie* promise of doing so. Also the accumulated evidence of the later case studies must be capable of chastening the theory, although it will tend to do so by success or failure at exhuming the mechanisms involved.

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[1] West Midlands Advisory Council for Further Education, *Directory of Institutions and courses in Higher and Further Education*, W.M.R.A.C., Birmingham, 1985-86, pp. 15-16.

a) Theories of Social and Cultural Analysis

The first theoretical orientation required, given the nature of the problem we have chosen to investigate, is towards the analysis of cultural phenomena per se. There are a number of theories which may assist in our task of interpreting the role of Drama in Education in general, and in Further Education in particular. It seems useful to draw upon two major perspectives that offer promise of facilitating a cultural analysis of Further Education, those associated with phenomenological and neo-Marxist theoretical positions, which are in some important respects not necessarily opposed. In parallel they offer a potential basis for seeking to understand the sources and outcomes of the ironies, ambiguities and tensions that were noted with respect to Drama's role in Further Education.

The first framework offering a prima facie interpretive usefulness is phenomenology, since the social setting of the research is characterized by conflicting definitions or perceptions, held by the various actors, as to what is at stake. Phenomenological perspectives treat whatever social 'meanings' are attributed to social events and circumstances as more persuasive data than apparent 'hard-wire' social 'truths' purporting to chart actual 'out-there' roles and relationships. Whether or not Drama has a 'true' describable role in Further Education, various attributed meanings concerning how its role is perceived can be collected and compared. Minimally these phenomenological accounts are likely to generate valuable insights into any inconsistencies in the perceptions of the role of Drama. As indicated in the seminal work by Berger and Luckmann, individuals construct social reality in different

ways,[1] and the social position of the various actors in any situation will to some extent determine what they are 'likely to see'. A phenomenological approach would be particularly useful if it could be assumed that the milieu of Further Education is liberal and pluralistic, since such an environment, by definition holding several ideological positions in suspension, will tend to be opaque, offering participants a choice of interpretations from which individuals make their own selection. Such an orientation would also go some way towards offering a valid explanation of how Drama seems to perform different roles at different times - or even simultaneously. In short, the ironies, ambiguities and tensions associated with the role of Drama in Further Education may, seen from a phenomenological perspective, rest upon a liberal view of the Further Education sector as a natural arena for tolerant compromise, able to assimilate differing perceptions without intolerable conflict.

The alternative perspective is a neo-Marxist one, which is attractive for several reasons, not least because it introduces powerful explanatory ideas from cultural reproduction theory and hegemony theory. Unlike the liberal humanist interpretation, which supposes Further Education to carry its differences of emphasis in tolerant suspension, the neo-Marxist account begins with the view that diverse real interests are involved, themselves class-based and related to modes of production, of a kind that suggest formal contradiction rather than amicable

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[1] P. Berger and T. Luckmann, The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise on the Sociology of Knowledge, Penguin, Harmondsworth, pp. 152-153, 1971. See also: A. Schutz, 'The Stranger: An Essay in Social Psychology' in B.R. Cosin, I.R. Dale, G.M. Esland, D.F. Swift, School and Society: A Sociological Reader, Routledge and Kegan Paul in association with The Open University Press, London, 1971, pp. 32-34.

ambiguity. Yet in many Further Educational settings, if there is indeed hegemonic control, then it appears to work in the main by consent, matching Gramsci's view that the institutions of 'civil society' are adept at moulding the convictions of the proletariat (in this case teachers and taught) who 'wear their chains willingly'. Although any 'ideological hegemony' of Further Education is doubtless in this broad sense consensual, there is parallel evidence that institutions are also willing to 'co-erce non-conformists and rebels who come under their jurisdiction'.[1] Indeed the balance between these forces is the analytical thrust behind the case studies.

A further problem is that Gramsci was himself ambiguous over whether hegemony could involve coercion as well as consent. Perry Anderson analyses three separate 'models' of hegemony that might be inferred from Gramsci's writing, at least the second of which included the 'confusing addition' that hegemony might also include 'physical coercion', particularly through the law.[2]

The contribution of hegemony theory to an analysis of the place of 'expressive' Drama within the ideology of instrumentally-orientated Further Education can be simply stated. To what extent are the implicit antagonisms successfully 'hidden from view', reduced to an illusory conflict that is a disguised form of consensus? Indeed are we dealing with hidden antagonisms at all, or educational settings simply characterized by liberal pluralism? What indications are there that what Gramsci called the 'contradictory consciousness' experienced by the beguiled oppressed under hegemonic conditions resulted in particular

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1 Joseph Femia, Gramsci's Political Thought, Clarendon, Oxford, 1981, p. 28.

2 See Perry Andrson 'The Antinomies of Antonio Gramsci', New Left Review, No. 100, 1976-77, London, pp. 5-78, cited in Robert Bocock, Hegemony, Ellis Horwood/Tavistock Publications, London, 1986, p. 29.

mixtures of apathy, hostility and consent that occasionally outcropped as genuine challenge? Our argument will be that some circumstances offer evidence of struggle. This may be met with institutional coercion by treating Drama tutors as deviant. The predictable consequences were various attempts to marginalise and control Drama with all the ploys recognized by Bourdieu:

> Misunderstanding, borrowings removed from their context and reinterpreted, admiration and disdainful aloofness - These are all signs familiar to specialists on the situations that arise when cultures meet.[1]

It is also clear that Gramsci's elaboration of hegemony fits the conditions of Further Education as part of 'civil society' better than earlier Marxist accounts of the relations between dominant and subordinate constituents of culture. Although, as Althusser[2] points out, Gramsci's theory of hegemony did not originally deviate from the Marxist analysis of class-bound 'oppressive' cultural domination, later versions allowed Gramsci to be heralded as the first Marxist to develop 'the elements of a full political theory within Marxism'.[3] In essence Gramsci's concept of hegemony overcame the economic reductionism and simplistic catastrophism of traditional Marxism by taking a broader view of the state as the

> entire complex of practical and theoretical activities with which the ruling class not only justifies and maintains its dominance, but manages to win the active consent of those over whom it rules.[4]

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1 Pierre Bourdieu, 'Systems of Education and Systems of Thought', in R. Dale, G. Esland, M. McDonald, Schooling and Capitalism: A Sociological Reader, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1976, pp. 192-200, p. 198.

2 L. Althusser, 'The Crisis of Marxism' in I. Manifesto, (ed.) Power and Opposition in Post-Revolutionary Societies, London, Ink Links, 1979, pp. 225-237, p. 235.

3 E. Hobsawm, 'Gramsci and Political Theory', Marxism Today, July 1977, pp. 205-213, p. 208.

4 Antonio Gramsci, Selection from the Prison Notebooks, London, Lawrence and Wishart, 1971, p. 244.

The question remains, of course, as to why the incipient challenge of Drama was not in the event 'profoundly destabilizing'[1] although potentially antithetical. Indeed Drama at times clearly offered positive support to the ideological status quo, although a fine grain analysis of particular situations and motivations would be needed to determine whether and to what extent the acceptance of the institutions' 'cognitive and evaluative maps' was 'pragmatic'.

By incorporating dissident elements wherever possible through persuasion and other forms of non coercive legitimation, institutions are able to secure their own social control through compliance. Commonsensically, one would expect some incentives or inducements to be offered to gain 'spontaneous consent ... to the general direction imposed on social life by the dominant ... groups'.[2] 'Perceptible benefits'[3] include not only approval, but also the incorporation of practical activities, new aspirations, moral conduct and even admitting new entrants to the dominant group itself.[4]

Nevertheless, it is clear that Further Education Colleges are not always able to manage their problems of social control with such affable apparent generosity. Degrees of consent and conformity vary according to circumstance and to the exact mix that makes up the 'contradictory consciousnesses' of the protagonists supporting or recommending Drama. As Femia points out, these complexities may be difficult to unravel at the margins:

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1 Bernard Miege, (translated by Jonathan Davis), 'The Logics at Work in the New Cultural Industries', Media Culture and Society, Vol. 9, No. 3, July 1987, pp. 273-291, p. 273.

2 Gramsci, 'Gli intellettuali e l'organizzazione della Cultura', p. 9, translated and cited in Femia, Gramsci's Political Thought, p. 42.

3 Philip Schlesinger, 'Editorial' in Media Culture and Society, Media Culture and Society, Vol. 10.

4 Femia, Gramsci's Political Thought, pp. 42-50. See also Miege, 'The Logics at Work', p. 274.

> The distinctions made ... between different modes of conformity are analytic and hence easily drawn. But it is not all that easy in actual circumstances to determine, for example, where compliance originating in voluntary agreement ends and where compliance deriving from constraint begins. On cases that fall near the margins, clear demarcation is impossible. Different types of conformity flow imperceptibly into their neighbours.[1]

Another facet of our account springs from the insight that Drama is a subject with individualist expressive roots trying to carve a niche for itself in the teeth of the dominant and transparently instrumental order of occupationally-relevant Further Education, and consequently out of step with its reproductive agenda. This expressive announcement could be seen as one of many not dissimilar 'threats' going right back to feudal times. As Femia noted expressive content appeared in many guises:

> advancing individualism, expressing itself theologically in Protestantism, economically in Mercantile capitalism, and politically in the theory of natural rights.[2]

In this sense, the Arts can be seen as potentially subversive, too, eventually on the basis of their ability to check received wisdom imaginatively against empathetically reconstructed experience.

It is not difficult to see that the neo-Marxist line of argument carries a particular force for Further Education, which with its close relationship to the economic base of society is well placed to reinforce society's class divisions and inequalities. At stake is the question of whether Further Education is in any strong and analytically justified sense an alien and unfriendly environment for Drama, and if so whether the emergence of hegemonic consent is sufficient to mask the conflict and struggle. This will determine whether Drama is to be brought a willing or reluctant 'captive within the gates' of a predominantly instrumental Further Education, or whether it might achieve in some circumstances a

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1 ibid., pp. 41-42.
2 Femia, Gramsci's Political Thought, p. 36.

subversive role. Neo-Marxist theoretical perspectives also claim a strong historical orientation, and offer potential assistance to a thesis concerned with exploring how the historical processes surrounding the position of Drama in Education, particularly Further Education, may be demythologized.

There are, however, theoretical and methodological differences between phenomenological and neo-Marxist approaches. Phenomenological research collects attributed meanings and explanations, and charts discontinuities in the 'invented' worlds on display, while neo-Marxist accounts are predisposed towards certain kinds of 'grand theory', in particular a settled determination to treat cultural conflict as having its roots in economic and social conflict. As a starting point it might be useful to explore further the idea discussed above that there is some kind of natural antithesis between Drama and Further Education. In an obvious sense, they perform segregated cultural roles; Drama acts, albeit arguably with the permission of the dominant order, as a channel for personal, expressive[1] realization. In some circumstances this 'permission' appears to be conditional on Drama playing a well-behaved token role, suppressing its core of potentially subversive elements. But the citadel of Further Education is a strong one, as the whole basis for its provision is to answer the commands of the dominant order for the instrumental[2] needs of society for a trained or skilled workforce whose actions are designed to fulfil the perceived normative needs of society,

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1 In this thesis the terms 'expressive' and 'instrumental' are derived from Durkheim's concept of the disparate societal functions which education performs. See for example, Emile Durkheim Education and Sociology, (translated by Sherwood Fox), The Free Press, New York, 1956, pp. 121-126. Particular focus upon expressive and instrumental education is evident in Basil Bernstein, H.L. Elvin and R.S. Peters, 'Ritual in Education' in B.R. Cosin, I.R. Dale, G.M. Esland, D.F. Swift, School and Society: A Sociological Reader, London, R.K.P., in association with the Open University, 1971, pp. 160-165.

2 ibid.

particularly with regards to providing human spare parts for the prevailing industrial processes.

At first glance it appears that there are indeed few points of genuine overlap between the values and assumptions of Educational Drama and those espoused in Further Education. At a Joint Conference in March 1985, for example, various agencies with interests in Educational Drama in Further Education met to analyse its role. They concluded, rather brutally, that Drama was generally perceived as 'expendable':

> no matter how successful individual pockets are, no significant voice exists for Drama work as a whole, no determination to put sectional interests at a lower priority than overall growth ... Drama is ... expendable.[1]

There is also some evidence that attitudes have recently been hardening. Following firstly the publication of the MSC's requirements and latterly the demands of the Training Commission, colleges of Further Education have been made emphatically aware of their strictly functional role of supporting work-skill based courses,[2] whilst Drama is in direct contrast more readily associated with a questioning, challenging, critical stance. If the primary function of the non-advanced form of education provided in Further Education is to serve the needs of the dominant groups in society, whether these demands are expressed by religion, politics or economy, then its explicit cultural role is irreducably instrumental.[3] Its clients or students in general 'acquiese passively'[4] in the disinclination to teach knowledge or skills that might

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1 Joint Conference, Nottingham, 28 March 1985, 'Positive Images', in Dramabout, 1985, p. 4.

2 See for example: City of Birmingham Education Department, New Technical and Vocational Education Initiative: Proposals for Pilot Project, Birmingham, 1983 and City of Birmingham Education Department, TVE Planning Document, Birmingham, July 1988.

3 King, p. 156.

4 Femia, Gramsci's Political Thought, p. 43.

enable them to challenge the existing cultural status quo.[1] Yet Drama, if willing to play a service or subservient role, can actually assist in this system of control by choosing a face that permits the practices of cultural reinforcement outlined by Morton.[2] If so, even an expressive subject like Drama may find its place in the curriculum of Further Education limited and constrained to the extent that it is consistently expected to emphasise group solidarity, cultural complacency and the status quo, rather than promote reflective feeling and individual expressive capability. With Drama duly tamed, its contribution to the stability of the instrumental culture might be transmitted through such restricting methodologies as limited-purpose simulations, role plays perceived narrowly as job-rehearsal, the study of theatre as academic text, and speech 'training'. At this point, it would appear that Drama has not only consented to the legitimacy of the hegemonic messages but is also actively engaged in furthering them, though its own modified consciousness.[3]

Since Drama seems capable of playing a variety of roles from the subversive to the supportive, it would be useful to consider whether different roles tend to be played in different historical conditions. This takes us to a consideration of cultural change, which is of interest from both a neo-Marxist and a phenomenological perspective:

> A crisis arises which interrupts the flow of habit and gives rise to changed conditions of consciousness and practice.[4]
>
> This helps to explain why ... there is always asked the uneasy question about what the future has in store[5]

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1 G.H. Bantock, Education in An Industrial Society, London, Faber and Faber, 1963, p. 224.
2 David Morton (ed.), Drama For Capability, Oxford, Kemble Press/ National Association of Drama Advisers, 1984, p. 35.
3 J. Femia, 'Hegemony and Consciousness in the thought of Antonio Gramsci', Political Studies, XXIII, March 1975, pp. 29-48.
4 A. Schutz, 'The Stranger', p. 31.
5 Karl Mannheim, (Translated by Edward Shils) Ideology and Utopia, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, p. 229.

One possibility is that, at times of societal transition or flux, the instrumental commands transmitted through Further Education may be diverted or disguised by the flaring up of a rhetoric of 'total man' associated with the notion of a 'liberal' curriculum, which although antithetical to Further Education is part of the rhetorical legacy and reference orientation of many of its teachers. But even this tendency is capable of being absorbed by the dominant symbolic order. Drama at times seems to be deployed as what C. Wright Mills calls a 'status distraction' with the institution using it to bolster up its liberal rhetoric, but as a 'cloak for actual power'.[1] At other times, like the ebb and flow of a tide, tough-minded instrumental agendas related to specific job-related skills may re-surge and be openly espoused. Generalizing across time, Drama not infrequently finds itself in the cross-fire between antithetical ideologies within the colleges. Not only can the role of Drama be analysed as exhibiting the dilemmas and confusions of its marginal status, but it may be forced to adjust in the manner of life on the shoreline between high and low tide, surviving differently under different conditions as it is pulled between the waxing and waning instrumental ideology of the Further Education milieu, and the expressive ideology of the reference groups to which it owes allegiance. This thesis examines the proposition that Drama will develop covert protective ploys when it finds itself in a 'problematic niche', for example by seeking to be perceived in one role, while aspiring to another. In some circumstances Drama may only survive by accepting token institutional sponsorship on a promise of obedience, or by claiming limited exemptions

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[1] C. Wright Mills, The Power Elite, Oxford University Press, 1957, p. 91.

like the Fool in King Lear, 'all-licensed'[1] within strictly circumscribed boundaries. At worst Drama might find itself truly co-opted, its expressive base reduced to an empty rhetoric, or so footling in its offer of 'illusory conflict' that the circumstances can be analysed as 'consensus in disguise.'[2] Many of the shifts in the role of Drama within Further Education may represent pragmatic adaptations and readjustments to new circumstances:

> at best he may be willing and able to share the present and the future with the approached group in vivid and immediate experience.[3]

Although there is an analytical problem in attempting to map pluralist cultures, it may be useful to return briefly to the possibility that Further Education might less evidence a marginally fragmented hegemonic consciousness that the ability of a liberal institution to hold a number of sub-cultures, each defined as legitimate, in a loose and compliant conglomeration. Any perception of culture which isolates 'fragments' and seeks to tie them into a common framework creates 'an impression of tidiness which cannot exist in culturally pluralist societies[4], which tend to be somewhat messy. At no level does our society have a clear mandate for the 'cultural core' which is allegedly at the basis of our selection of curriculum content. Indeed, several commentators have argued that any tentative cultural core itself 'contains contradictions, tensions and ambiguities'.[5] The tidiness

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1 William Shakespeare, 'King Lear', in Peter Alexander, Shakespeare: The Complete Works, Colling, London, Reprinted 1980, pp. 1073-1113, Act I, Scene iv.
2 Femia, p. 34.
3 A. Schutz, 'The Stranger', p. 34.
4 David Jenkins, 'Romantic and Classic in the Curriculum Landscape' in David Jenkins, Richard Pring and Alan Harris, Curriculum Philosophy and Design, Bucks, Open University Press, 1972, pp. 37-46, p. 40.
5 ibid.

implied by 'traditional' culture is inoperable in a post-industrial culturally pluralistic society in which 'education is for uncertainty, if not an apprenticeship in desolation'.[1]

In some circumstances, however, studies suggest that dissimilar elements of culture may paradoxically fuse together. This view of unrelated cultural constituents combining to affect a novel cultural form has a powerful antecedent in Weber's seminal work The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism,[2] which describes how a mutually reciprocal relationship developed synthesizing Calvinist ethics and modern capitalism.

b) Culture and the Curriculum

The neo-Marxist and phenomenological theoretical perspectives employed in this thesis have already been brought together, if not integrated, in a substantial body of literature dealing with the relationship between culture and the curriculum, and the subsequent account continues to draw upon both traditions. From the general analysis of culture, the thesis now moves to an examination of the relationship between culture and the curriculum.

The immediate impression gained from the various available accounts of the link between culture and the curriculum is one of diversity. There are not only distinctive modes of analysis, but varying prescriptions concerning what ought to be. In short, the accounts are discrete both in their modes of thought and in their implicit political positions. There is also some evidence of internal confusion, and it is not unusual to find two or more quite distinct implicit 'models' of the culture/curriculum relationship jostling uneasily in the same argument.

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1 ibid.

2 Max Weber, The Protestant Ethic and The Spirit of Capitalism, London, Allen and Unwin, 1923.

It is possible to identify three entirely different perceived patterns which detail the relationship between culture and the curriculum. The first pattern links the curriculum to culture by viewing it as a means of conservation and preservation of a society's 'cultural capital'.[1] In the second pattern, the curriculum, like the culture in which it is embedded, is seen to be continuously adapting in a state of evolutionary, rather than revolutionary, change. This pattern has been called 'cultural reconstructionism'.[2] The third perceived pattern is primarily concerned with the way in which a curriculum can be viewed as transmitting covert cultural agendas through an unspecified hidden and unacknowledged curriculum.

Protagonists of the preservation/conservation mode argue that the overt selection from a society's valued cultural capital ensures that the curriculum transmits an 'excellence' of cultural forms. Bantock, for example, argues that

> The major displines (I refer to those studied in our English Universities), rightly conceived, involve an expansion of the human being through his submission to what lies outside the self.[3]

Critics of the preservation/conservation mode argue, however, that it is dependent upon maintaining class boundaries, and unavoidably reinforces inequitable distributions based on social background, age, race and income. The preserved curriculum thus has the purpose of protecting socially elite groups, a process described succinctly by Bourdieu:

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1 Denis Lawton, Social Class, Language and Education, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1968, pp. 7-10.

2 John Reynolds and Malcolm Skilbeck, Culture and The Classroom, Open Books, London, 1976, pp. 37, 67.

3 G.H. Bantock, Education in an Industrial Society, London, Faber and Faber, 1963, p. 131.

> Indeed, it seems that a sociological explanation can account for the unequal achievement usually imputed to unequal ability.[1]

Supporters of the second pattern of culture/curriculum relationships point to the inherent value of gradual change. Bernstein, for example, suggests that the movement towards curriculum integration brings with it a weakening of elitist authority systems, 'or renders them pluralistic'.[2] Such an optimistic liberal view is not shared by some neo-Marxist commentators, who regard reconstructionist patterns as a disguise for the continual reimposition of the existing dominant order through the covert or 'hidden' curriculum.[3]

The third pattern of the relationship between culture and the curriculum is attributed by others rather than proclaimed by the providing institutions, and is neo-Marxist in general theoretical orientation, concerned with offering a general critique of schooling. There are some confusions in the camp which have recently been unravelled at least in part by Whitty,[4] and some brief unpicking is required for the purposes of this thesis. In an early popular version by Bowles and Gintis,[5] a 'theory of correspondence' linked the conditions of schooling to the conditions of work-place, but it is now fashionable for neo-Marxists to regard the theory as an 'over-monolithic view of

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1 Pierre Bourdieu, 'The School as a Conservative force: Scholastic and Cultural Inequalities' in Schooling and Capitalism, pp. 110-117, p. 110.

2 Basil Bernstein 'Open Schools, Open Society' in School and Society, pp. 166-169, p. 169.

3 See for example, David Hargreaves, 'Power and the Paracurriculum' in Colin Richards (ed.), Power and the Curriculum, Nafferton Books, London, 1978.

4 Geoff Whitty, Sociology and School Knowledge: Curriculum Theory, Research and Politics, London, Methuen, 1985, pp. 30-55.

5 S. Bowles and H. Gintis, Schooling in Capitalist America, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1976.

domination and an unduly passive view of human beings'.[1] The neo-Marxist critique encourages a shift in emphasis towards 'covert', 'unspecified' or 'hidden' agendas in schooling, although not necessarily subsumed under any crude conspiracy theory. Bourdieu[2] is one of a number of writers examining the legitimacy of knowledge and its distribution as aspects of social control[3]; in his analysis, the distribution of knowledge is tied strictly to the continuation of the dominant order, and the curriculum designed to protect the existing social hierarchy, together with its myths of supremacy.[4] One of the questions addressed in this thesis is whether the exploration of the ironies and tensions associated with the role of Drama in Further Education is best explained by reference to a conflict model suggesting opposed interests and ideologies. If, on analysis, such conflict appears patchy or muted in particular settings, then a further choice opens up, either to regard the events described as evidencing hegemonic saturation of the common sense of the embryonic opposing groups with the value assumptions of the bourgeois providers,[5] or to abandon the neo-Marxist critique at least in its sharpest form. In Gramsci's terms, even the weakest of hegemonies would suffer 'intuitive implausibility'[6] in resorting to co-ercive conspiracy in the face of what is, in general, Further Education's transparent servitude to the elite group, and it would be difficult to assert much conspiracy in Further Education's current self-confident and guileless performance.

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1 H. Giroux, Theory and Resistance in Education: A Pedagogy for the Opposition, London, Heinemann Educational, 1981, cited in Whitty, p. 31.

2 Pierre Bourdieu, see for example, 'The School as a Conservative Force: Scholastic and Cultural Inequalities', in Schooling and Capitalism, pp. 110-117.

3 See also Michael Young, Knowledge and Control: New Directions for the Sociology of Education, Collier-Macmillan, London, 1971, p. 110.

4 Michael Young, Knowledge and Control, p. 110.

5 Femia, Gramsci's Political Thought, p. 225.

6 ibid., p. 225.

With its commitment to an instrumental ideology, Further Education would seem initially to be placing itself in the cultural preservation/conservation mode. Conversely, Drama, with its expressive roots, seems to reverberate 'naturally' with the cultural reconstructionist position through its inferred implicit concern to develop in its students a critical questioning stance, testing dogma by chastening it against the authenticity of feelings. Relevantly, the Drama curriculum is not infrequently a 'limited access' one in Further Education, and often appears to be distributed in a way that restricts it to potential members of a privileged elite.[1] Yet, paradoxically, it is also susceptible to infiltration by radical or challenging groups:

> While we certainly need more technologists and vocationally qualified personnel, this must be set in the context of a better educated total population. The pattern of curricula and qualifications must reflect the needs of the whole post-school population for education, leisure and self-fulfilment[2]

A neo-Marxist perspective would tend to heighten and underline the contradictions between the curriculum for cultural reproduction (Further Education), and the curriculum for cultural reconstruction (Drama). It may be useful to elaborate further at this point the pervasive ideas of this approach, and give a preliminary indication of the points of relevance to Drama in Further Education. Bourdieu's analysis of the concept of 'cultural capital',[3] including 'good taste, certain kinds of prior knowledge, abilities and language forms',[4] points to its unequal distribution. He sees the possession of such capital as generally an accompaniment to middle-class status. This capital is both stored in,

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1 Pierre Bourdieu, 'The School as a Conservative Force: Scholastic and Cultural Inequalities' in Schooling and Capitalism, pp. 110-117, p. 114.
2 N.A.T.F.H.E., Journal, No. 2, March 1987, p. 25.
3 Bourdieu, p. 110.
4 Apple, 'Ideology, Reproduction and Educational Reform', p. 12.

and transmitted through, educational curricula, but it also infiltrates 'cultured' segments of the population to the disadvantage of those who have not received this 'social gift'.[1] It is this argument that underpins the paradoxical nature of Further Education's claim to exemplify the cultural conservation/preservation mode, since its clients are traditionally perceived as low-status, and consequently have questionable access to cultural capital. One might expect Further Education to contain discounted or insufficiently liquid amounts of such capital, since, as Bourdieu goes on to say, storage and transmission act as effective filtering devices in the reproduction of a hierarchical society:

> What the education system both hands on and demands is an aristocratic culture and, above all, an aristocratic relationship with it'.[2]

Cultural capital is not effective capital if it has to be spent in a 'company store', and the Further Education college has long been regarded as a 'second chance institution', governed by assumptions that the products of the Further Education 'stable' are late-starters or non-runners,[3] with few seriously-regarded assets. It is not generally regarded as a 'bank' of cultural capital. Neither are Further Education colleges encouraged to seek upward mobility in the system. Stringent regulations operate, restricting the 'categories' of course which may be offered so that they do not come into competition with local sixth forms or polytechnics.[4] Theoretical perspectives drawn from phenomenology, however, suggest that the individual's need to construct his own social reality may be so strong that 'it overthrows the actual system of

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1 Roger Dale et al, (ed.) Schooling and Capitalism: A Sociological Reader, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1976, p. 4.
2 Bourdieu, p. 114.
3 D. Moore, 'Why Teenagers Do 'A' levels at the Tech', Times Educational Supplement, 21 April, 1972, p. 1.
4 Waitt, 11.2.4, pp. 437-550.

relevances'.[1] In our example a co-opted, limited, instrumental Drama teacher may have the self-perception of being a liberal educator in a pluralistic institution, a view sustained dogmatically against all threats to its validity.

The subsequent case study deals with a further complication. Just as individuals' perceptions of Educational Drama may be subject to shifting affiliations and symbolic structures, so Further Education may regard Drama as contributing to an enhanced image, without necessarily resolving the question of how this phenomenon is to be explained. Drama can and does offer a token, an inference, a reference group or a general aura to individuals in policy positions seeking to upgrade the imagery of the institution. The assimilation of Drama into the Further Education curriculum may in some circumstances, therefore, represent little more than an 'open market' bid to upgrade the class-based imagery of the existing curriculum provision. The idea is that Drama may become sponsored because it possesses an economically viable elite aura, and not necessarily because its expressive value position is endorsed, still less its counter-hegemonic potential.[2] The battle over Drama might involve both subject and institutional protagonists in deception and counter deception. It must be argued, however, that the existence of such evident ploys in defence of Drama poses some problems for hegemony theory. At the least, they suggest that hegemonic compliance is being south by constraint(which is avoidable by guile) rather than by voluntary agreement. There is also clearly a point in determined opposition beyond which we are dealing with struggle rather than compliance.[3] In one scenario Drama is invited into the curriculum for ostensibly liberal

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1 A. Schutz, 'The Stranger', p. 34.
2 Femia, Gramsci's Political Thought, see Chapter 7.
3 ibid., p. 178.

reasons, but is in practice given an instrumental role. In another scenario the trickery is pulled by Drama itself, which opts for the role of the truculent servant, outwardly servile, but really seeking to infiltrate the instrumental institutional ethos. Further Education is also trapped to some extent in its own tradition of entrepreneurial activity to seek beyond conventional offerings, and will tend opportunistically, for example, to target minority interest subjects whose position in the traditional sixth form curriculum is in some way insecure.[1] This is a form of imitation of existing elite structures and values, and can be considered, in effect, a parallel to Bourdieu's description of lower middle-class efforts to conform to the ethos of elite groups,

> at the price of not getting quite the right note[2]

The 'wrong note' is the inability of colleges to harmonize Educational Drama with the role of the Arts in the culture at large. Drama has historically played a strong, but barely acknowledged, role in Further Education's attempts to gain what could be termed this new 'cultural credibility'. One example is the Advanced level GCE Theatre Studies examination, which has been interpreted widely as a bid constructed in these terms:

> The preliminary course was quite wide, the rationale basically being 'choose what you'd like to study'. But with the later university participation in the preparation of the syllabus, there has been a tightening of the general into the specific and the introduction of the unseen text and the set plays. The creation of a horse to run several different courses at the same time, or as Gordon Vallins described it: 'The exam started as a thoroughbred but now resembles a camel ...' The multiplicity of skills involved in the exam, together with the standard required, makes the course very difficult to teach in the time, six hours, allowed. The standards, it was thought, were those of the final of a first year of a degree course, therefore only an elite could succeed well. Gordon Vallins agreed that the exam was, and must be

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1 King, p. 116.
2 Bourdieu, p. 114.

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1 King, p. 116.
2 Bourdieu, p. 114.

> elitist, but pointed out that 50 per cent of the work was non-theoretical and 50 per cent the student was able to set for himself and that the standard was no higher than that required in other subjects.[1]

Studies of culture and curriculum from a neo-Marxist perspective have tended to take a particular interest in problems that can be located in the so-called new sociology of knowledge. It is to this area that we turn next. The basic line of argument is put forward in a number of texts of which Michael Apple's Social Structure, Ideology and Curriculum might be treated as representative. A simplified summary version would run as follows: it can be argued that the selection of what forms of knowledge appear in educational curricula is a direct result of the processing of knowledge, not only through its differential distribution to different kinds of people, but also its production and ultimate accumulation by those in power.[2] As indicated above, the setting of Further Education has a number of features that suggest the appropriateness of this kind of analysis, since its heavy vocational emphasis guarantees the class relatedness of the provision:

> the kinds of knowledge considered most legitimate ... and which act as a complex filter to stratify groups of students is connected to specific needs of our kind of social formation.[3]

If we accept that curriculum knowledge is itself socially determined and prioritized within particular institutions, then the apparent ideological mismatch between the 'knowledge' of Drama and the 'knowledge' of Further Education becomes in a special way problematic.[4] On the one hand the knowledge of Further Education is, in Mannheim's terms, 'situationally conditioned' and 'partial'[5], forming a part of the cultural apparatus for

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1 David Hankins, Conference Report: Discussion with Gordon Vallins, Dramabout, N.A.T.F.H.E., Spring 1983, pp. 11-14.
2 Apple, Social Structure Ideology and Curriculum.
3 ibid., p. 143.
4 Femia, Gramsci's Political Thought, p. 178.
5 Karl Mannheim, Ideology and Utopia, pp. 253, 269.

maintaining cultural division and hence the status quo. The 'knowledge' of Drama, on the other hand, is concerned with 'situational detachment',[1] moving beyond the 'here and now' into the realms of conscious distinctions and criticism.

There are general theoretical reasons for supposing that movement from situationally-conditioned knowledge to a more detached perspective is relatively easy to generate in a milieu characterized by the proliferation of pliant sub-groups who may be tolerated according to the principles of 'free intellectual inquiry'.[2] But even allowing for the orthodoxy which demands that Further Education knowledge should be skills-based, there is probably some room for the emergence of potentially counter-hegemonic forms of knowledge. Further Education's traditional associations with social mobility,[3] entrepreneurial activity,[4] and diversity of interests and provision,[5] seem close to the conditions which Mannheim associates with the acquisition of detached knowledge. These conditions include that a member of a group should leave his social position (by ascending to a higher class etc.) Groups as well as individuals may move towards the acquisition of detached knowledge if the group's existing status is scrutinized or challenged. Finally, conflict within a culture or sub-culture may generate new modes of thought. When two or more socially-determined modes of interpretation come into conflict, their criticism of each other 'renders one another transparent'.[6] This demands a reappraisal of established modes of

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1 ibid., p. 269.
2 Femia, Gramsci's Political Thought, p. 178.
3 King, School and College, p. 99.
4 Denis Gleeson and George Mardle, Further Education or Training?, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1980, pp. 8-9.
5 Leonard M. Cantor and I.F. Roberts, Further Education Today, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1979, Second Edition 1983, pp. 6-10.
6 Mannheim, p. 253.

thought and has potential for the generation of new patterns within a prevailing hegemony. The position of Educational Drama in Further Education offers an appropriate focus for this analysis.

Some perspectives derived from the sociology of knowledge suggest that Drama and Further Education may not be so mismatched that there is no possibility of subtle 'performance breaks' on both sides. In particular, Drama has empathy with an upwardly mobile latent tradition in Further Education that has other important manifestations. An examination of the role of Drama must, therefore, take into account whether its knowledge was 'invited' into the curriculum, or whether it managed to cross the symbolic boundary at some unguarded point in a manner of infiltration. Further analysis is also needed to explore by what mechanisms, if at all, Drama is able to infiltrate existing knowledge structures, either going it alone or through alignment or realignment with other constituencies or interest groups.

4. Setting-Up a Two-by-Two Dichotomy

a) Analytical Framework

It is now time to turn to the main heuristic and explanatory device at the heart of this thesis, a two-by-two dichotomy that seeks to bring order to the data in the case studies by combining two distinctions in an interesting way to generate a four-box analysis of what is theoretically possible.

Readers will recall that the research problem at the heart of this thesis was first conceptualized as a cluster of observed anomalies that seemed to arise from deeply-lying tensions associated with the role of Drama in Further Education. These were posed against a broader backdrop that appeared to exhibit similar ambiguities with respect to the wider

historical and cultural roles played by Drama. This pattern of persistent antinomy appeared susceptible to an analysis that would take the form of mapping the tensions and infiltrations. In order to generate propositions concerning the role of Drama, capable of being tested across cases, a device is needed with a built-in capacity to take account of shifting positions, perceptions, identities and ideologies. This orientation may be regarded as particularly appropriate to a thesis which is to a large extent informed by a broad neo-Marxist theoretical view that concedes the inevitability of some cultural ambiguity in contemporary Further Education colleges. Our first task is to outline the distinctions themselves, before combining them in the framework of the two-by-two dichotomy.

i) Expressive Role/Instrumental Role

The first dichotomy is perceived as a distinction in the role played by Drama in the curriculum of Further Education, which is held to be either expressive or instrumental. The suggestion is not that the expressive/instrumental distinction operates to a tight logic of mutual exclusion. As we have already seen, Drama is multi-faceted and capable of dispersing its identity towards the competing claims that surround it. But the dichotomy is nevertheless seen as a true one, having a strong *prima facie* validity, and in most circumstances Drama can be unequivocally seen as having its broad thrust towards either instrumental or expressive goals. The initial supposition is that Drama is more comfortable in an expressive role, although capable in some circumstances of conforming to instrumental ends. The instrumental/expressive distinction, has, of course, its own long-standing intellectual history. Articulated most notably by Bernstein, the distinction regards so-called 'instrumental' education as concerned with 'the acquisition of specific

skills',[1] and contrasts the individualistic and transcendental quality of 'expressive' education, which is capable of overcoming immediate purposes in order to deal with an unknown future.[2] A similar dichotomy was pivotal to Weber's discussion of the Chinese literatae, and his distinction between 'expert' education and education for 'cultivation',[3] and to Durkeim's contrast between 'specialist' and 'moral' education.[4]

It is Michael Young's work[5] that most usefully elaborates the instrumental/expressive distinction in an ideological framework linking it to the processes of cultural reproduction and social control. 'Instrumental' education is defined by its capacity to confirm existing status and potential employment within strictly circumscribed hegemonic boundaries:

> They cater for you more in ... you like the place where you're mostly born, don't you?[6]

'Expressive' education, by way of contrast, is defined by its ability to generate an awareness of personal potential. This optimistic flavour is caught aptly in an interview recorded by Young and Willmott:

> People are more educated ... they know they can have better if they want to.[7]

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1 Basil Bernstein, H.L. Elvin and R.S. Peters 'Ritual in Education' p. 161 in B.R. Cosin, I.R. Dale, G.M. Esland, D.F. Swift, School and Society. A Sociological Reader, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1971, pp. 160-165.

2 ibid.

3 Discussed in Tom Bottmore, Sociology: A Guide to Problems and Literature, London, Allen and Unwin, 1962, revised 1972, pp. 239-244.

4 Emile Durkheim, Education and Sociology, New York, Free Press, 1956, pp. 78-81 and, Moral Education, Collier Macmillan, 1961.

5 Michael Young, (ed.) Knowledge and Control: New Directions for the Sociology of Education, Collier-Macmillan, London, 1971.

6 Michael Young and Peter Willmott, Family and Kinship in East London, Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1962, p. 112.

7 ibid., p. 21.

Whether or not Drama in Further Education performs an instrumental or expressive role will depend to some extent on the institutional milieu of particular colleges, and the pressures generated towards accommodation or co-ercion. It is, therefore, appropriate that the second distinction we turn to dichotomises this milieu.

ii) Transparent Milieu/Opaque Milieu

The second dichotomy distinguishes broadly between two types of milieux to be found in Further Education, which are held either to be transparent or opaque. The terms are intended to summarize readily identifiable 'clusters' of attributes. A transparent milieu will be simple and relatively clear in its orientation and affiliations. It will be 'top-down', limited, monotechnic and unarguably instrumental in its view of the role of Further Education in relation to the manpower needs of society. Transparent milieux are likely to be clearly and overtly hegemonic in their forms of social control, although not necessarily based on consent rather than constraint. An opaque milieu is more complex, as the milieu is in this cluster characterized by complexity and internal diversity of provision. It is likely to be, relatively, 'bottom-up' rather than 'top-down', responding to various needs emerging from identifiable sectors in the local community. Opaque milieux are also theoretically more open to alternative interpretations, in particular raising the question of whether their relative pluralism is the product of tolerance or the successful imposition of more subtle control mechanisms. The distinction between transparent and opaque, at its simplest, summarizes the entire institutional milieu of any Further Education college.

The distinction is not merely one of analytical convenience, and again the dichotomy is seen as a true one, with colleges capable of being placed on a continuum between the semantic opposites, and typically towards one end. Indeed, a later section of this thesis develops a crude but useful gauge against which this placing might be attempted. It is, however, a part of the fine-grain analysis offered here that counter-currents are possible. It is self-evident that a college's aggregate identification as having a transparent or opaque milieu may mask internal variations, so that, for example, in a broadly transparent monotechnic milieu, Drama teachers might find their subject dispersed and marginalised or occupying a liberal air-pocket in the otherwise sunken ship. No less important are the counter-currents created by individuals at local level in their 'interpretations' of national policies.

It is now time to combine the dichotomies into a four-box analysis.

Figure 2: The Two-by-Two Dichotomy

Institutional Milieu[1]	Role of Drama: Instrumental	Role of Drama: Expressive
Transparent	1	2
Opaque	3	4

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[1] For a further discussion of milieu see Malcolm Parlett, 'Training for Case-Study Research and Evaluation' in Helen Simons (ed.), Towards A Science of the Singular, University of East Anglia, 1980, pp. 238-250.

The two-by-two dichotomy is perhaps best seen as a grounded attempt to establish a map of logical possibilities. The argument is that the crucial distinctions combine into a four cell analysis with each 'box' exhibiting a separate set of issues, separate potential sources of the tension and conflict at the heart of the research problem, and different preferred explanations of how the role of Drama might operate as a potential change agent. But each 'box' in the analysis represents more than a logical possibility as a particular role becomes associated with a particular milieu. Indeed, the two-by-two dichotomy was conceived imaginatively in the first instance as an attempt to understand the pressures and tensions observed in a variety of settings. In the analysis diagrammatically represented above, Box 1 and Box 4 can be considered 'strong boxes', as there is at least a suggestive link between instrumental and transparent and between expressive and opaque. There is, however, considerable evidence of 'activity' in each of the four boxes, in spite of evident internal tensions. These tensions are likely to be particularly marked where Drama attempts to play an expressive role in a transparent, top-down and monotechnic milieu. The next task is to analyse the internal logic of each of the boxes and raise suggestions about the problems and possibilities faced by Drama in each.

b) The Internal Logic of the Boxes

i) Box 1: Instrumental Role; Transparent Milieu.

These circumstances, it can be argued, occur when a limited monotechnic milieu is sufficiently strong and unremitting for Drama to find itself willingly or unwillingly co-opted into a role of political subservience. Drama is allowed entry into the milieu, but it has to pay a heavy entrance fee. In this box, Drama is in a weak position, operating in a manner which is foreign to those expressive roots that

have secured its historical cultural role. Drama may find itself marginalised to a limited repertoire of service roles, and undue stress may be placed on its value as a motivational device, perhaps as part of the pedagogical tactics of other subject areas. Drama might also be defined as a tool of application rather than exploration, and find itself directed towards 'skills development' areas like the teaching of telephone technique.[1]

Drama teachers in this box will either consent passively to the institutional definitions, and thus have their very consciousnesses saturated into ready compliance, or will be held obedient by coercion and constraint. The institution is likely to seek to maintain the marginal status of Drama through various ploys. Aspirant Drama teachers, if not disposed to accept the institutional definitions, will be forced to practise guile if they seek to preserve a latent expressive tradition, but many will be tempted to opt for a quiet life, and find themselves increasingly co-opted into the world-view of vocation-based Further Education. In terms of hegemony theory, it is the level of reluctance they exhibit that will determine whether the institution is maintaining its social control by co-ercion or consent. Potential sources of anti-hegemonic struggle and change reside mainly in the capacity of Drama teachers to break rank and raise an under-cover resistance movement, or to work quietly to undermine the system. In some circumstances it is possible that Drama teachers might make vociferous assertions about its own distinctive value position, but in reality accept their political emasculation, a position charcterized by Femia as the kind of illusory conflict which is really consensus in disguise.[2] Nevertheless, there are

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1 As in for example the practice and rehearsal of 'life-skills'; see David Morton, Drama for Capability.

2 Femia, Gramsci's Political Thought, pp. 34-35.

reasons to suppose that Drama teachers in this box might be viewed suspiciously, like voters in a 'marginal constituency' who are perceived as potentially volatile, and indeed individual tutors may be quite capable of changing sides as the moisture of their 'saturated common sense' begins to evaporate.

Response to the problems posed by Box 1 are likely to vary. Teacher roles available vary from the 'collaborator' to the potential 'antagonist'. But it is only when the alternative thinking becomes overt around a strong assertion of the expressive role of Drama that we move into the different circumstances of Box 2.

ii) Box 2: Expressive Role; Transparent Milieu

Box 2 is likely to see a more genuinely equal distribution of power, since both Further Education and Drama are occupying their 'natural' settings. Drama here is 'allowed' to perform an expressive role, although the milieu remains in general strongly transparent and committed to a broad monotechnic instrumentality. The implication is that Drama can be contained as a marginalised counter-culture, asserting its own expressive nature in the teeth of the established climate of the times. In this cell Drama, in realizing its expressive role, is likely to move beyond an involvement in skills-based programmes. Although the relationship between Drama tutors and institutional management is likely to be characterized by tension, in some circumstances this could well prove constructive, particularly to the subject itself. Drama lecturers may be able to feed off the conflict and attempt resolutions in which social perceptions are expressively linked with the world of the feelings. Since the instrumental assumptions of a transparent milieu are directly opposed to the expressive underpinnings of Drama, Drama tutors are likely to appeal to high prestige outside reference groups, playing

to a different piper.[1] The institution may well have its own reasons for 'allowing' Drama to have some physical, emotional and pedagogical space. In some circumstances Drama may be able to win apparently grudging institutional approval through its examination successes, through its supportive links with the more prestigious sector of Higher Education, or the aura it may have acquired from its connections with high-profile, high-prestige community enterprises like theatre groups and media channels.

It could be argued, also, that the circumstances of this box best reflect one of the historic roles that Drama has played in relation to society at large, an issue dealt with at length in the historical chapters. As in the wider society, controlling forces will in all probability attempt to exert some influence over Drama, to assert and police various symbolic boundaries. Drama and its practitioners may be labelled deviant or treated to personalized forms of control through heavy-handed humour or institutional banter, aimed at reminding Drama of its effete and effeminate image in a 'machismo' institution. This may become particularly acute if successes generated through Drama ironically reflect the institution's own value system, through such phenomena as high student numbers, high examination pass rates and high local prestige.

In terms of a potential change agency role, Drama tutors have in this box already established an enviable cultural bridgehead. Yet given the circumstances of an opaque milieu, the institutional norms already established make Drama into a potentially dangerous exception, although perhaps other sections of a college, notably its General and Liberal

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[1] See for example, Herbert H. Hyman and Eleanor Singer, (eds), Readings in Reference Group Theory and Research, Collier-Macmillan, London, 1968.

Studies areas, may attract a similar watchfulness. In the circumstances of Box 2, the threat is contained, although the control is unlikely to be genuinely consensual. The ambitions of aspirant 'expressive Drama' will seek to render the milieu opaque, at which point we would move to a different location in our analysis. But for the moment the marginalised counter culture is contained, and its folly 'licensed', like the fool in King Lear.[1]

iii) Box 3 Instrumental Role; Opaque Milieu.

There is a certain oddness about this association, and the empirical evidence for activity in this box may occasion some surprise. Drama, for these conditions to obtain, is limited to an instrumental role, not because it has been persuaded or coerced by a hostile monotechnic milieu committed to instrumental vocationalism, but in spite of a loosening-up of the institutional environment in the kind of milieu we characterise as opaque. As indicated above, opaque milieux, in spite of their liberal openness and diversity, are not easy to read, and may not be genuinely 'liberal' at all, merely asserting social control with more subtlety and duplicity in the absence of naive hegemonic consent. A superficial view, but one that may well remain largely true following an examination of further evidence, is that Drama is in the circumstances of Box 3 culpably under-achieving, and to some extent acting against its own nature.

That Box 3 is not an empty box probably testifies to the possibility of confusion surrounding the role, inhibiting a realization of its potential. An opaque milieu is by definition complex, diverse and likely to be characterized by potentially contradictory signals. Sources of confusion about the role of Drama might well tend to multiply in an

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[1] William Shakespeare, King Lear, Act 1, Scene iv.

opaque milieu, where roles are achieved rather than ascribed. Also there may be differing perceptions both of the role of the subject and the roles of individual teachers. Drama may well find itself operating on the fringes of other constituents in the milieu, which are themselves in uneasy agreement with the dominant order, seeking to discover an ecological niche in the interstices between them. It could be argued that this box accurately reflects the general confusion surrounding the moral status of the subject. Although Further Education not infrequently presents its policies dressed in the garments of desperate working-class 'realism', pointing to the need to acquire specific job-skills for the diminishing market-place, Drama tutors would be more able to defend any corner they were able to recognize, since the milieu already exhibits apparent liberal or pluralistic tendencies, not least because opaque milieux allow more room for the emergence of interest groups who may 'sponsor' Drama in order to further their own interests. Those exploiting the internal diversity of institutions in this way for their own ends become in Becker's terms 'moral entrepreneurs'.[1] But potential sources of change in this box are perhaps more likely to come from outside Drama *per se*, as constituencies elsewhere in a college seek to strengthen contributions to liberal tendencies flourishing at other locations in the milieu. In terms of innovation theory, Drama might find itself as a late adopter in the processes of change, in spite of an inherent capacity to act as a catalyst and initiate change. The role of Drama in any change is likely to remain understated for it begins from a position of having abrogated its expressive power, itself the primary source of its moral authority. This is in stark contrast to the circumstances of Box 4.

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[1] Howard Becker, 'Becoming a Marihuana User', *American Journal of Sociology*, November 1953, 59, pp. 41-58.

iv) Box 4: Expressive Role; Opaque Milieu

Box 4 probably represents the ideal position for Drama. In this cell Drama's expressive nature is apparently recognised by an invitingly accommodating milieu, and the interplay between the multiple facets of legitimized Drama and the opportunities of an opaque and, therefore, potentially pluralistic setting promises to generate alternative and new modes of thought and action with potential for contributing further to the diversity and opaqueness of Further Education. Drama should at best find itself free to act as a powerful change agent, although a cautionary caveat might well be entered to remind us that even an opaque 'permitting' milieu may be the tactical front of a potentially illiberal institution responding to perceived nuances in its cultural setting and biding its time. A commonsensical view might be that an institution plays its potential internal critics like an adroit fisherman: first release the line a little to absorb a burst of energy; then inexoraby reel it in. Yet Drama tutors, if fully realizing its expressive role, will be seeking to extend beyond narrowly-defined issues and drawing upon wider societal and cultural conflict, giving space in the college itself to marginal and even counter-cultural voices. As we shall see in the case study of Sutton Coldfield College of Further Education, such activity is likely to determine the extent to which the liberal mask of an opaque institution is or is not a true face.

It could also be argued that this box is the one to which the practitioners of Drama in Further Education naturally aspire, and that, if at all knowing, they will in all circumstances behave and exert influence in a way calculated to maximise the approximation. This issue will be explored in later chapters on the historical and contemporary roles of Drama.

In terms of the initial intuitive anthithesis that launched this enquiry, this box may best exemplify the ideological antithesis between a 'naturally' expressive Drama and a 'naturally' instrumental Further Education. The opaque diversity of a Box 4 institution apparently undermines this primary opposition, but the question best left to the case studies is the extent to which the apparent amelioration is itself a kind of ploy. Paradoxically, it may be that transparent top-down institutions are more likely to impose any hegemonic control by coercion, whilst opaque institutions manage it obliquely and more subtly, through consent. Nonetheless, there is evidence that some settings, both transparent and opaque, are characterised by struggle and this is considered in subsequent chapters.

c) Postscript on the Two-by-Two Dichotomy

Although the analysis is presented as having a defensible empirical validity, there is a further complication that needs to be addressed at this point. Although in genuinely opaque milieux the ethnographic testimony picked up in the research setting would be likely to complement attempts to explain and understand, this correspondence is less likely to hold in transparent milieux. The reason for the difficulty is obvious; even institutions forced into a coercive role through political or economic constraints frequently mask their power politics behind the rhetoric of a supposed liberal educational consensus, although this consensus is subject to contemporary Government policy. Consequently a researcher may feel at liberty to treat the 'real' curriculum of Further Education as hidden, refusing to concede the opaque pluralism that particular institutions claim on their own behalf. Similarly an 'incorporated' Drama department may well be employing deceit and guile about its own 'real' ideological affiliations, and the 'real'

circumstances of its professional existence. The case study of Sutton Coldfield College of Further Education, ostensibly a Box 4 exemplary instance, addresses these issues directly.

d) Contructs of Marginality

One theme which was implicit in the analysis of the two-by-two dichotomy is that Drama tutors may encounter some of the problems and possibilities of its marginal status.[1] It is to the construct of 'marginality' that we next turn. The term, of course, has its own intellectual history, which it may be useful to summarize. In highly simplified terms, marginality describes the situation of an individual, a group, or an occupation whose position rests uneasily at the boundary between two diverse states and their associated affiliations. All of the major studies concerned with marginality, however, are united in associating tension and ambiguity with the marginal role. This tension is apparent in the depiction of Park's account of marginal man:

> striving to live in two diverse culture groups[2]

Ambiguities are also treated as deeply problematic in Stonequist's study of marginal situations.[3] Early studies tended to focus on marginal occupations, where the ambiguities often took the form of status dilemmas.[4] With its capacity to describe and explain the dilemmas of marginal individuals, states and roles, the construct of marginality appears to have a high explaining value in considering the role of Drama

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1 The key elements of marginality described here and used throughout the study are derived from David Jenkins' 'Curriculum Development and Reference-Group Theory: Notes Towards Understanding the Plight of the Curriculum Developer as Marginal Man' in Eric Hoyle and Robert Bell, Problems of Curriculum Innovation, Bucks: Open University, E283 Unit 14, 1972, pp. 69-79.

2 Robert Park, 'Human Migration and the Marginal Man', quoted in Jenkins, 'Curriculum Development and Reference Group Theory', p. 77.

3 E.V. Stonequist, 'The Problem of the Marginal Man,' AJS., Vol. XLI, No. 1, 1936.

4 Everett C. Hughes 'Dilemmas and Contradictions of Status', AJS., Vol. L, No. 5, March 1945, pp. 353-9.

in Further Education. One of the more interesting features of the construct of marginality, for the purposes of this study, is that the concept manages to hold in a delicate balance both optimistic and pessimistic versions. As we have already noted in the analysis based on the the two-by-two dichotomy, the 'boundary' role of Drama in Box 1 is not noticeably hopeful - its true nature tending to retreat behind mere survival ploys, or else risking distortion by co-option. In Box 4, however, we see Drama potentially performing the role of 'cultural hero' on behalf of a resurgent expressive education. Close analysis is needed of the kinds of marginalised roles available in different circumstances, perhaps from a game-theoretical perspective, as both the institution and the subject may be caught up in cross-purposes.

The shifting identity of Drama may also render it equivocal on the pessimistic/optimistic continuum. On the one hand, its ability to perform an instrumental or expressive role, in a milieu which may be either transparent or opaque, aligns it with the pragmatically valuable marginal condition of 'cultural hybridity'.[1] This capacity to act as a fusion-point or trading post between two cultures may explain how Drama can flourish at all in Further Education, which in our initial configuration of the problem was conjectured to be a hostile environment. On the other hand, the capacity of Drama tutors to adapt its role with such apparent ease renders it vulnerable to the criticism that it possesses an ambiguous moral status:

> Here's an equivocator that could swear in both the scales against either scale[2]

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1 Jenkins, 'Curriculum Development and Reference-Group Theory', p. 77.

2 William Shakespeare, 'Macbeth', Act II, lines 10-11 in Peter Alexander, (ed.), Shakespeare: The Complete Works, Collins, London, reprinted 1980, pp. 999-1027.

The 'equivocal' position of Drama was recognised in the earliest Government report upon Educational Drama:

> Drama under the right conditions can be a most potent instrument of moral, artistic and intellectual progress, and under wrong conditions an equally potent instrument of moral, artistic and intellectual degradation.[1]

The problems of the Drama tutor in Further Education are also drawn into sharp focus by its marginal position. How might members of an extremely small task force acquire supportive reference groups and gain public credibility? The Drama teacher is forced to inhabit two worlds, the dominantly instrumental world of Further Education and the expressive world of Drama.

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[1] Board of Education, The Drama in Adult Education, London, H.M.S.O., 1926, p. 199.

CHAPTER TWO:

DRAMA IN TWO HISTORICAL SETTINGS

1. Introduction

It was observed in Chapter One that the role of Drama in Further Education was characterized by four major anomalies which were set against four propositions concerning the nature of Drama itself. The analysis pointed to the need to find solutions to the aggregate puzzle by which Drama is accompanied, seemingly consistently, by problems of tension, ambiguity and even contradiction. Clearly, however, we need to find out whether the observed anomalies surrounding the perceived roles of Drama are products of a particular time and specific cultural conditions, or whether they are accretions from Drama itself, only weakly determined by particular local conditions.

The purpose of this Chapter is to examine the role of Drama in two contrasting historical settings, the relatively stable conditions of Medieval feudalism and the conflicts leading up to the English Civil War. These were chosen because they represent poles on a continuum suggested by conventional critical wisdom, the first evidencing Drama docile before a religious/political consensus, the second demonstrating the ability of Drama to enter the lists and contribute on both sides to a sharp debate.

Medieval feudalism, according to Gramsci, was able through religious dominance to hold together

> the philosophy and science of the age, together with schools, education, morality, justice, good works etc. The category of ecclesiastics can be considered as the category of intellectuals organically bound to the landed aristocracy.[1]

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[1] Antonio Gramsci, 'The Intellectuals' in R. Dale, G. Esland, M. MacDonald, Schooling and Capitalism: A Sociological Reader, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1976, pp. 218-223, p. 219.

Gramsci further denoted the feudal condition as comprising a monopoly of power orientation ruling an entirely silent and passive subordinate majority population.[1] The place of Drama in a feudal setting so notionalised would presumably be as politically voiceless as the subservient group itself, and as equally removed from considerations of active consensus or assimilation by the dominant minority group. We might expect, therefore, that Medieval Drama would offer a strong challenge to any general theory asserting ambiguity or subversion as consistent elements in the cultural role of Drama. For this reason we have chosen it as our first case study.

For the purposes of contrast, it would be useful to identify a set of historical and cultural conditions in which even the most basic ideas in society were clearly confused and subject to open conflict between opposed groups of people who were themselves seeking to establish the political and moral bases of cultural dominance.

The time span chosen for our second and contrasting case is the period dominated by the conflicts between the Royalists and Puritans which were to result in the English Civil War. The crisis was triggered, as Gramsci suggests, by the weakening of an aristocratic monopoly:

> It is precisely from the moment at which the aristocracy loses its monopoly of technico-military capacity that the crisis of feudalism begins.[2]

The complexity of Gramsci's argument, which points to the existence, albeit contested, of hegemonic order even in the face of intense civil disruption, is a resonant echo of Marx's view that to interpret the English Civil War as being primarily anti-hegemonic is

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1 Joseph Femia, Gramsci's Political Thought, Clarendon, Oxford, 1981, p. 49.

2 Gramsci, 'The Intellectuals', p. 218

> trivial ... a banal narration of the merely political events.[1]

Gramsci, following in broad terms the tradition of Marx, does not see the flux and conflict of the English Civil war as generative of genuine class-related interaction; instead the battle between Royalist and Puritan (or between pro-and anti-Catholics) is seen as a conflict within the dominant forces in which the lowest social classes are merely transferred from a 'feudal' to a 'peasant' condition, while the essential power-base is similarly only 'adjusted' between existing dominant groups.[2] The contest between the power groups themselves, however, was real, echoing the dissonance in religious and intellectual life, and exaggerated by the growing force of economic demands.

2. Drama in Feudal Society: Medieval Plays and Sermons

a) Feudal Society

We now turn to an examination of some specific roles of Drama in the 'pre-political'[3] feudal order of Medieval England. Although in any commonsensical judgement Medieval society would be regarded as strongly hegemonic, at least one neo-Marxist account, premissed on the political thought of Gramsci, takes issues with the proposition that hegemonic social control in the 'primitive form of the state'[4] found in Medieval feudalism worked by consensus:

> The links between what people actually experience and the larger social economic and political framework are remote and indirect ... Social order stems mainly from inertia, from habit and indifference, not from consensus. The system is rigid: There is little or no contact and mobility between the dominant and subordinate groups.[5]

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1 Karl Marx 'Review of Guizot's Book on the English Revolution' in David Fernbach (ed.), Karl Marx: Surveys From Exile: Political Writings, Volume 2, Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1973, pp. 250-256, pp. 253-254

2 Gramsci, 'The Intellectuals' p. 218.

3 Femia, Gramsci's Political Thought, p. 48.

4 Antonio Gramsci, cited in Femia, Gramsci's Political Thought, p.49.

5 ibid., p. 49.

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3 Femia, Gramsci's Political Thought, p. 48.

4 Antonio Gramsci, cited in Femia, Gramsci's Political Thought, p.49.

5 ibid., p. 49.

This seems an odd judgement since the belief system infiltrated consciousness at every level, linking religion both to feudal hierarchies and the exigencies of everyday life. Drama, in its capacity to link contemporary life with man's 'salvation history'[1] itself provided linkages. At the most basic level, dominant religious groups worked through a variety of forms, and Drama practitioners, as we shall see, found themselves able in quite subtle ways to vivify or recycle critically some of the dominant theological and social ideas. This Chapter, then, departs from Femia to a considerable extent and regards the 'social order' of Medieval England as depending to a large extent on the saturation of theological ideas, themselves vividly politicised, into life-as-experienced. The analogy that took us to Medieval Drama, in this sense, still seems a true one.

b) Liturgical and Folk Antecedents

The 'Christian' tradition had itself, of course, assimilated obvious Pagan elements. According to Denton, 'the fear of image worship was never far below the surface of Christian thinking'.[2] Most popularly known is the 'fear' accorded to counterfeit sacred relics, a fraud wittily exposed by Chaucer in the General Prologue to The Canterbury Tales as he describes the Pardoner:

> He hadde a crois of latoun ful of stones,
> And in a glas he hadde pigges bones.
> But with thise relikes, whan that he fond
> A povre person dwelline upon lond,
> Upon a day he gat him moore moneye
> Than that the person gat in monthes tweye.[3]

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1 Martin Stevens, Four Middle English Mystery Cycles, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1978, p. 29.

2 Jeffrey Denton, 'Image and History' in Jonathan Alexander and Paul Binski, (eds.) Age of Chivalry: Art in Plantagenet England, 1200-1400 Royal Academy of Arts in Association with Weidenfield and Nicolson, London, 1987, pp. 20-25, p. 22.

3 James Winny, (ed.), Selected Tales from Chaucer: The General Prologue to the Canterbury Tales, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1966, lines 701-706, p. 73

Medieval fear and suspicion of representational art were not confined to relics statues and paintings, but concerned also with the stage in the tradition established by Augustine, whose Confessions described the dangers of Drama to Christianity in the evocation of false sentiment, immoderate behaviour and inappropriate sympathy.[1] Overt religious suppression of Drama included Decrees issued by the Church in the Thirteenth Century to limit legally the activities of both plays and players,[2] and as Stevenson records, there was a general pulpit-based condemnation of pagan-rooted folk 'Dramas'.[3] As late as 1268, these were being documented by Carlisle and obviously demonstrated a form of Priapic worship.[4] The religious hierarchy raised fundamental objections to Drama on two important grounds: firstly religious Drama possessed a representational capacity which was held to be antithetical to monotheistic theology at even the most basic level of separate actors representing the Holy Trinity; secondly with its strong pagan traditions, particularly in the dramatic ritual and celebration of seasonal changes[5], Drama carried persistent and untimely reminders of the 'ungodly' past. Yet the community spirit engendered through folk Drama remained, according to Chambers, a powerful and pervasive force[6], with occasions like the 'Feast of Fools' offering a temporary inversion of the stable socio-religious order.[7] In the 'Feast of Fools', a parody of the offices of

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1 St. Augustine 'Confessions', III, 2-3, cited in Philip Coggin, Drama and Education, Thames and Hudson, London, 1956, p. 37.

2 Ifor Evans, A Short History of English Drama, MacGibbon and Kee, London, Second Edition, 1965, p. 20.

3 J. Stevenson (ed.) 'Chronicron de Lanercost', 1839, cited in T.A. Heslop, 'Attitudes to the Visual Arts: The Evidence from Written Sources' in Age of Chivalry, pp. 26-32, p. 28.

4 ibid.

5 See, for example, Allardyce Nicoll, British Drama, Harrap, London, Fifth Edition, 1962, p. 18.

6 E.K. Chambers, The Medieval Stage, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1903, Two volumes, Vol. II, pp. 49-53.

7 Chambers, The Medieval Stage, Vol. II, p. 51.

the Church in which lesser clergy and lay-people mockingly assumed the roles of clerical dignitaries, the 'imitative' quality of Drama had a sharp edge to it. At best it rendered the proper dignity and humility of ecclesiastical office comically transparent, but there was also something of what might be termed a 'hooligan' element:

> It was largely an ebullition of the natural lout beneath the cassock.[1]

Given that the Medieval Church had inherited from its patristic tradition strong grounds for objecting to Drama, we next address the question of how Drama became so determinedly courted by the Church from its embryonic appearance in the Easter prose Trope Quem Quaeritis?[2], through to its fullest and triumphant flowering in the Medieval Mystery Cycles of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth centuries.

In order to bring some explanation to the apparent paradox of Drama's endorsement by a dominant order with secure grounds for its total rejection, it might be useful to remind ourselves of the anomalies noted earlier concerning the roles of Drama, together with the propositions concerning its nature, in order to analyse the basis of the accommodations 'negotiated'. Under what conditions was Drama admitted? Although the story begins with the introduction of extra-liturgical Latin playlets into the canonical office around the Tenth Century, the subsequent development of Medieval Drama related more and more equivocally to its point of origin.

Young describes the Quem Quaeritis? trope as being 'the earliest recorded play'[3] of the Medieval Church. Its simple question-and-answer form was first attached, almost incidentally, to the Introit of

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1 ibid.
2 Text in Karl Young, The Drama of the Medieval Church (Two Volumes), Vol. I, 1933, p. 202.
3 Young, Drama of The Medieval Church, Vol. 1, p. 201.

the Easter Mass, where the altar as mise-en-scene allowed by analogy the contextual setting of Christ's tomb:

Interrogatio	Quem quaeritis in sepulchro, Christicole?
Responsio	Iesum Nazarenum crucifixum, O caelicolae.[1]

Although the respondents clearly impersonate the three Maries, this may seem a particularly sparse introduction of Drama, since both Interrogatio and Responsio were 'played' only by the celebrant priests[2], but is was no doubt aided by a parallel emergence of dramatic techniques as pedagogical tools available to the popular preacher. Young indicates clearly that even the earlier Latin Liturgical Drama was dependent upon both unlicensed addition and aesthetically risky elaboration, citing the sudden appearance of a comic ointment seller in an earlier Mary Magdalen play:

> The effective beginnings of Medieval religious Drama are to be found, not in the elaboration of elements found in the traditional forms of worship, but in certain deliberate, and perhaps unsanctioned, literary additions to the authorised liturgical text.[3]

In commenting on the visual representations of the influential new orders of mobile preaching brotherhoods (mainly Franciscan friars), Camille admits that he finds it

> a puzzle how those without any formal Latin training ... flocked to the churches.[4]

Camille goes some way towards providing the solution to his own puzzle in the way he describes the portrait in stained glass of a travelling preacher:

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1 Latin text from Young, Drama of The Medieval Church, Vol. 1, p. 202.
2 Young, Drama of The Medieval Church, p. 201.
3 Young, The Drama of the Medieval Church, Vol 1, p. 178.
4 Michael Camille, 'The Language of Images in Medieval England: 1200-1400', in Age of Chivalry, pp. 33-40, p. 34.

> The preaching friars were experts at explicating for their audiences not only God's word, but His images as well ... Speech scrolls (are) held in the hands of dramatic interlocutors in so many Gothic pictures.[1]

For in the words 'expert', 'audiences' and 'dramatic interlocutors',[2] Camille touches upon an intensely interesting development in the day-to-day transmission of the sacred word into which Drama was recruited as a pedagogic device.

Kelly suggests in his History of Adult Education that the art of preaching, which had itself developed alongside Medieval Drama, had become highly competitive by the late fourteenth century when it significantly lay alongside the great flowering of the Medieval Mystery Cycles at towns like York, Chester and Wakefield. This had grown to the extent that 'manuals' advocating dramatic pedagogy were available.[3]

In Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England, Owst also points to the importance of Drama in sermons and preaching, citing a translation of an extract from one of these popular 'guidebooks':

> Speak slowly and distinctly, the preacher is told: vary the pitch of your voice, but do not shout one minute and whisper the next. Be sure to make clear the division of your sermon and emphasise the principal links of your argument. Do not try to crowd too much in, or make your sermon too long, for 'excessive prolixity induces sleep.' Let your gestures be natural: do not stand still like a statue, nor on the other hand indulge in exaggerated movements.[4]

In this extract preaching is clearly viewed as dramatic performance, and it does not seem too far-fetched to suggest that Drama was here being used as a pedagogic tool in a manner reminiscent of some of the instrumental 'service' roles Drama is expected to play in vocational Further Education.

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1 ibid.
2 ibid.
3 T. Kelly, A History of Adult Education in Great Britain, Liverpool, Liverpool University Press, 1962, p. 7.
4 G.R. Owst, Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England, London, Blackwell, 1933, reprinted 1961, p. 486.

As Jenkins argues[1], Owst may have made excessive claims for the unidirectional influence of preaching on the Drama, although there is certainly some commonality between the use of dialogue in sermons and in liturgical Drama. Owst cites an embryonic form of Drama in the question-and-answer sequence of this sermon:

> But zitt, here myzthe be reasonable asshed a question - Seth thise thre princes were Kynges, as the common glose seith, than qwy be theicalled in the gospell magi, men of gret connynge, and not reges, Kynges; seyn the name of Kynges is of gretter dignite?' Here - to itt is answered - and this is the cause, to shewe the grett connynge of thise thre princes, they were called magi ...[2]

It was probably such powerful use of rhetoric, together with the interrogative framework of this sermon ('But zitt, here myzthe be reasonable asshed a question'[3]) which prompted Owst to argue that the preacher-priest had become a 'sacred showman'.[4]

One anomaly that not infrequently attends Drama is that its role is capable of undergoing abrupt shifts in perception across relatively short spaces of time. A particularly 'dramatic' example of an individual 'antagonist' turning 'protagonist' is provided by Augustine. As noted above[5], St Augustine began with profound objections to Drama. Yet under the influence of Pope Gregory, who advised him not to abolish pagan dramatic rituals and folk celebrations but to divert them to Christian usage, Augustine weakened and affirmed a partial role for Drama. This 'seal of approval' arose from a recognition of Drama's potential for instruction, according to Coggin[6], and again there are instructive

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1 David Jenkins, 'The Antagonist: The Nature and Function of Oppositive Characters in Medieval Religious Drama', Unpublished MA dissertation, University of Wales.
2 Cited in Owst, Literature and Pulpit, p. 506.
3 ibid.
4 ibid., p. 502.
5 Augustine 'Confessions' cited in Coggin, Drama and Education p. 37.
6 Coggin, Drama and Education, pp. 44-45.

parallels with the position of Drama in contemporary Further Education.[1] In his seminal work Parish Priests and their People in the Middle Ages in England, Cutts suggests that dramatic devices swiftly became a conscious facet of the clergy's instructional modus operandi, even at the day-to-day level of their teaching in the local church.[2] Significantly, however, Coggin argues that recognition of the value of Drama as an instructional method was 'the excuse, not the fundamental reason'[3] for its co-option. The expressive potential of Drama was also seen as useful in triumphalising the Christian world-view and establishing the pressing relevance of its moral messages.

Early Liturgical Drama itself 'over-layered' a vibrant folk and pagan Drama which was already in existence as an aesthetic framework and set of conventions whereby mimesis in performance might be understood. Only the message (Catholic doctrine as opposed to pagan worship and folk beliefs) and the dramatic locale changed, leaving the medium (dramatic performance) free to reverberate with the past. Coggin describes this process succinctly:

> May Day, originally a pagan fertility rite ... becomes Christianized. The sword dance, once symbolic of the death and resurrection of a tribal god, becomes the Christian play of St. George.[4]

The first Latin liturgical plays Quem Quaeritis? and the Officium Pastorum[5] were themselves closely related to annual festivals in the Pagan calendar.[6] Transposed by Christianity into the celebrations of Easter and Christmas respectively, their associations with the winter

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1 ibid., p. 45.
2 E.L. Cutts, Parish Priests and their People in the Middle Ages in England, London, 1888, pp. 216-217.
3 Coggin, Drama and Education, p. 46.
4 ibid., p. 49.
5 Jenkins, 'The Antagonist', p. 23.
6 Jenkins, 'The Antagonist', p. 23.

equinox and spring hopes for fertility are only barely concealed. Christian themes of death and resurrection overlay the related concerns of re-birth in the fertility rites of spring, and the images of light (the Bethlehem star) act as a Christian analogy for the fears and hopes bred of mid-winter darkness. Indeed, Young argues that the halo of associations surrounding the Christmas nativity presented considerable practical difficulties to the Church[1]; Evans comments, more baldly, that 'the Church ... made use of them'[2]

c) The Medieval Mystery Cycles

We next turn to the Medieval Mystery Cycles as the most complete and aesthetically satisfying flowering of Drama in Medieval England,[3] apparently dedicated to the amplification and emotional internalization of the Biblical message, particularly for the unlettered, for whom both the written and spoken Latin of the Church in general held little personal significance.[4] Conventional critical wisdom might lead us to expect to find the role of Drama in complete servitude to the religious order, the apotheosis of all that was held to be real and symbolically valid in the rigidly-ordered theocratic world-view with its emphasis on the stability and 'naturalness' of the hierarchical feudal system. This is undoubtedly the view taken by Coggin:

> At their height, these early dramatic festivals compare with the building of the great cathedrals. Whole communities joined together, joyfully, reverently, and anonymously, to perform an act of worship which was also an edification and an amusement ... The plays united the humble and the mighty in one moral, religious, and civic purpose[5]

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1 Young, The Drama of the Medieval Church, Vol. II, p. 9 and p. 25.
2 Evans, A Short History of English Drama, p. 20.
3 Jenkins, 'The Antagonist', p. 94.
4 See for example Camille, 'The Languages of Images in Medieval England: 1200-1400', p. 34.
5 Coggin, Drama and Education, p. 52.

We next turn to the treatment afforded the sacred story-lines in the Medieval Mystery Cycles and find that a fine-grain analysis reveals that there is indeed a proliferation of elaborations that probe the apparently easy consensus built into the tradition. Far from simply 'expressing' the faith of the Church uncritically, the Medieval dramatist achieves a cultural reflexivity that at times is daring, although it is only recently that the Mystery Cycles are being taken seriously as sustained 'organs of social protest'.[1] Medieval dramatists found themselves able to draw upon a humanist authenticity of feelings[2] that empathetic role play allows, occasionally placing human explanations discomfortingly alongside divine assertions.

3. Social Criticism

The following section indicates a number of distinct ways in which the Medieval dramatist was able to develop an uncomfortable 'probing' quality, lending weight to the supposition that even within the basic structure of a Medieval Mystery Play, room might be found for sustained social criticism.

a) The Human Touch and Preferred Explanation

One not untypical example of unscheduled human interest occurs in the Ludus Coventriae Betrothal of Mary.[3] The central issue of the play is the unconsummated chaste marriage of Joseph and Mary. The solution to the 'puzzle' of Mary and Joseph in the Betrothal of Mary is certainly not a spiritual one, as we see when the elderly Joseph reflects, with a hint of regret, on his physical impotence:

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1 Stevens, Four Middle English Mystery Cycles, p. 85.
2 See for example, R.W. Witkin, The Intelligence of Feeling, London, Heinemann, 1974.
3 K.H. Block (ed.), Ludus Coventriae, Early English Texts Society, London, 1922.

Joseph Age and febylnesse doth me embrace that I may nother goo ne stound

On one level, Joseph's account of his condition functions as a sort of oblique confirmation of Mary's purity. Yet rather than providing evidence of some malfunction of the prostate gland, a condition commonly associated with the male ageing process and then, as now, a primary cause of impotence, in the play the suspicious old Joseph provides a touch of out-of-place comedy, almost like a fragment of an adultery mime.

b) Loyality and Allegiance

A further issue requiring reconsideration is the extent to which Medieval Drama implicitly supports the Feudal order. In various ways feudalism, with its obligations of obedience, permeates the ideology of the plays, particularly in a settled infiltration of theological notions by feudal terms. Southern, for example, notes that the concept of allegiance is critical in the Fall of Lucifer plays at both Chester and 'N' Town, both of which have been 'feudalised'. Satan's sin was brought about through disobedience and a failure to fulfil his quasi-feudal responsibilities.[1] Even the treatment of the redemption itself has feudal overtones, being perceived as an act of 'diffidatio' whereby a Lord buys back an erring servant and renews his claim to allegiance.

But in spite of these strong associations, a close reading makes it clear that the evolution and staging of the Medieval Cycles contained an ineluctable core of tension, and that although obviously both theological and doctrinal in intent, the plays were clearly distanced from the controlling direction of the clergy by the practical sponsorship and involvement of the Crafts Guilds.[2] But as Carey also points out, the

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1 R.W. Southern, 'The Making of the Middle Ages', cited in Jenkins, 'The Antagonist', p. 201.

2 M. Carey, The Wakefield Group in the Towneley Cycle, London, 1929, p. 151.

very survival of the Medieval apprentice or journeyman depended upon a demonstrably compliant 'obedience' to the beliefs and behaviour recognised by the dominant group (and here we may drawn a not inconceivable parallel between the constraints upon the Medieval craft-learner and the demands upon the Twentieth-century recipient of State grants such as YTS or Employment Training in Further Education). But experience in the work-place was also, according to Stevens, likely to draw personal attention to the differences between day-to-day living in the 'real' world - and the 'ideal' (and effectually unrealizable) prescriptions of the dominant ideological group.[1] Outright disobedience to the demands of the ruling order was clearly out of the question, for livelihoods were at stake.[2] But, the esoteric internal knowledge of each craft-guild was in a sense 'protected'. By using the technical language associated with a particular craft, its members could construct what amounted to a 'coded message' to interject secular, sometimes even critical comment[3] into a Drama which was outwardly solely concerned with confirming and reinforcing the unity of the rigid hierarchical religious order.[4] There was, according to Jenkins:

> a small minority who regarded the relationship between human law and the Divine law as negative and equivocal (having only the same name). The Parallel was almost a basic tenet of political theory; Marsilius defines human law in terms of its coerciveness not its rationality, and hence regards it as sui generis, understood within the context of society alone.[5]

It is possible to assert that although loyality and allegiance within sub-groups of Medieval culture remained substantial, Medieval Drama also offered some support to those who adopted an ideologically questioning

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1 Stevens, Four Middle English Mystery Cycles, p. 23.
2 Stevens, Four Middle English Mystery Cycles, p. 23.
3 Stevens, Four Middle English Mystery Cycles, pp. 59-60.
4 Carey, The Wakefield Group, p. 151.
5 Jenkins, 'The Antagonist', p. 314.

stance to the requirements of total obedience. At their sharpest, the plays evidence even the concept of 'kingship' becoming a target for satire.

In the Caesar Augustus play, Caesar confuses the 'body' royal with the 'body' divine

> Cesar: Cesar Augustus I am cald
> A fayrer cors for to behald is not of bloode and bone.

And depictions of Herod, particularly in the Obligacio Magorum extend the confusion over the 'two bodies' to the point where Herod's boasting becomes a parody of the Divine:

> Herodes: The feynd, if he were my fo I shald hym fell.

The underlying political theme, questioning whether tyrants or usurpers should be obeyed, informs a tradition that extends right through to Shakespeare's history plays, particularly Richard II. Certainly it suggested that rule was de jure not de facto, and that questions about its legitimacy were in order.

c) The Realities of Life and Work

Carey was the first of many commentators to note that the Wakefield Prima Pastorum contains a bitter satire against the times'.[1] The play opens on a note of despair with Gyb 'envying the dead, now free from the inequalities and injustices of life':[2]

> Lord, what they ar well, that hens are past!
> ffor thay noght feyll, them to down cast

The earthly poverty of the Christ-child is explicitly balanced against the problems of the medieval poor, so that Horne's gift of a ball to the infant Christ is at once both a symbol of human inadequacy and an

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1 M. Carey, The Wakefield Group in the Towneley Cycle, London, 1929, p. 151.

2 Jenkins, 'The Antagonist', p. 304.

implicit criticism of a social order which is failing to minister to the needs of the poor (struggling under natural and social oppression in such hazards as 'sheep-rot ... the Black Death ... and ... and the practice of purveyance'[1]), just as the social order failed to recognize the coming of Christ and relegated a pregnant woman and then her newly-born child to a cow-shed in an act of 'charity'. Seen in this light, the interpolations in the Prima Pastorum, which can be regarded as a far from untypical 'intrusion' into Medieval texts, issue a daring challenge for they touch upon speculative theology. A similar 'proletarian gospel' suffuses the Last Judgement plays, and keeps them close to a religious spirit, although arguably a socially subversive one. The essence of the speculation in the Prima Pastorum is the suggestion that the evils besetting mankind spring as much from exploitation and social malpractice as from his human need for repentance. The plays offer

> a peculiar insight into the ironic relationship between Heaven and Earth ... (which) is both a sympathetic realisation of man's inadequacy and an implied criticism of the dogma[2]

One general feature of Medieval Drama is its immediacy, its occupation of the 'here-and-now'. Our stated view is that this is not naive anachronism, so much as a 'figural'[3] view of time derived in the first instance from the liturgical calendar, but ultimately dependent on a settled determination on the part of the dramatist to indicate contemporaneity in the storyline. There is no doubt that guild involvement enhanced this perception, often with grim humour, as when the sausagemakers of York managed to get themselves

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1 Jenkins, 'The Antagonist', p. 304.
2 ibid., p. 304.
3 See Erich Aurbach, Mimesis: The Representation of Reality in Western Literature, translated by Willard R. Trask, Garden City, New York, Doubleday, 1957.

> assigned to the Hanging of Judas ... because a string of sausages could be used to represent Judas's entrails when his body 'burst in the middle'.[1]

References to contemporary trades and crafts recall everyday experience and thus demystify the sacred text, tendering it more accessible. The Chester Deluge is over-preoccupied with technical details of the construction of the Ark, way beyond the limits of any doctrine of typological appropriateness. God is portrayed as kind of nautical master-builder, knowledgeable about timbers and tar, measurements and tolerances, while Noah abandons his typological persona for that of craftsman:

> Noah: I tarry full long from my work, I trow;
> Now my gear will I fetch and thitherward draw; ...
> Now will I try.
> How I can do carpentry, ...
> Lo! here the length,
> Three hundred cubits-evenly;
> Of breadth, lo, is it fifty.
> The height is an even thirty
> Cubits' full strength.

By emphasizing both Noah's and God's preoccupation with practical concerns, the play potentially reinforces the Medieval notion uniting God, man and work in an appropriate and culturally stable context, but it also moves the sacred message away from theological abstractions into realms of human and humane meaning that allow elements of negotiation and reinterpretation:

> God: Noah, my friend, I thee command thy sorrows to dispel.
> Do though but make a ship of nail and board full well.
> Thou wast e'er a trusty workman, to me as true as steel; For thy lasting faithful friendship shalt thou feel Reward.
> Of length thy ship let be
> Three hundred cubits, I tell thee,
> Of height even thirty,
> And fifty also broad
> Anoint thy ship with pitch and tar,

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[1] Stevens, Four Middle English Mystery Cycles, p 21.

> without and within;
> To keep the water out you must win[1]

The intrusion of craft-pride into the texts is frequently equivocal in relation to the dominant religious order. At one level it reinforces religious messages by turning technical labour into a sacred duty, but at other times it undermines the moral purpose of the episode it infiltrates by introducing an element of good humoured boasting, as when Chester's 'drawer of water from the Dee' contrive to emulate the flood. Even more daring is the presentation of the nails of the crucifixion at York as Medieval craft objects.

d) Humour

A fourth way in which a Medieval dramatist might develop a counter-hegemonic critical stance is by the deployment of humour and satire. Wit depends crucially on the availability of an alternative standard, and its syntactical structure (thesis, antithesis, synthesis) echoes Hegel's dialectic formula[2] that has been employed to explain social change. In the Medieval Mystery Plays, humour is much in evidence, although often in tension with the Biblical and apocryphal sources being elaborated in this way. Our argument is that humour is frequently used to probe and undermine, and that, as Nicolson observes:

> Every act of humour which induces laughter is an enjoyment of freedom.[3]

Jenkins has argued that humour is crucial to both the aesthetic and the moral interpretation of the plays, the disposition even extending to the depiction of the incarnate Christ in the Ludus Coventriae, where Jesus is presented as

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1 The Wakefield Pageant, 'The Deluge: Noah and His Sons', in John Gassner, (ed.), Medieval and Tudor Drama, New York, Bantam 1971 pp. 72-88, p. 75, p. 79.

2 G. Hegel, The Philosophy of History, Dover Publications, New York, 1956.

3 Harold Nicolson, The English Sense of Humour, London, Constable, 1956, p. 27.

> resourceful, tricksy and witty ... the glory, jest and riddle of the world.[1]

In part, the understated Jesus is a theological joke, particularly apt for theatrical treatment, since the veiled godhead deceives the more palpably fraudulent Satan. This is reminiscent of the traditional clash between the boastful alazon and understated eiron in Attic comedy.

Irony is playful about meanings and appropriate values, and is naturally disrespectful of cultural certainties, if not socially subversive.

All of the extant Mystery cycles demonstrate this tendency to use humour to de-mystify, recontextualize and reinterpret the sacred message. The use of humour varies from a re-working in the Noah plays of the comic stereotype of a stubborn wife, with 'Noah as the henpecked husband'[2], to near-blasphemous dramatic re-interpretations of Biblical episodes, most notably in the Wakefield Master's Secunda Pastorum, which allows a comic sub-plot in which the sheep-stealer Mak passes off a filched ewe as his recent progeny, thereby offering a critical parody of the incarnation.

Equally pointed is the 'grotesque'[3] shepherds' feast in the Prima Pastorum, a hilarious mixture of plebian and aristocratic dishes after which an angel is mistaken for a cloud, and the Divine Harmony is expressed as an adenoidal song.[4]

e) Fascination with Morbidity: The Cult of the Passion and Grisly Spectacle

Medieval playwrights, performers and audiences seem to have found a peculiar interest, which we cannot associate directly with the governing

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1 Jenkins, 'The Antagonist', p. 3.
2 Carey, The Wakefield Group, p. 39.
3 Carey, The Wakefield Group, p. 160.
4 Discussed in Jenkins, 'The Antagonist', p. 305.

needs of the dominant order, in the macabre. There is a certain marked quality of morbid fascination towards the details of the Crucifixion, which is evident in sermons as well as plays.[1] The resulting oddness of tone raises the question of how far the essential theological and moral messages of Christ's suffering and death had become distorted beneath a grim frisson surrounding the machinery of executions. Such 'human' tendencies have been well authenticated historically, most famously perhaps by Dickens.[2] Owst shows the extent to which Medieval sermons are characterised by an almost obsessive concentration on the horrors of the Crucifixion, and that the horrific detailing was a deliberate device for

> kindling the lurid imagination of the people, not even hesitating to appeal to them. The dramatic intensity of the language in no way lags for behind the intensity of the Coventry Passion Play or the Norwich Retable, which depicts in line and colour the horrors of the Flagellation. With almost a morbid delight in detail, the homilist now bids his listeners.[3]

The following extract from one of the sermons cited by Owst certainly displays a 'morbid delight'[4]:

> Byholde, thanne, that goede lord chyveryng and quakyng, al his body naked and bounde to a pyler, aboute his stondying the wyched men, withouten eny reasoun, ful sore scourgyng that blessed body, withouten eny pite. See how they cesse nouzt fram heere angry strokes, tyl they se chim stronde in his blode up to the anclees. Fro the top of the hed to the sole of his fote, hole skyn saved they none. His flesch they rase to the bone, and for werynesse of hemself they him leevyd almost for dede.[5]

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1 See for example, Jenkins, 'The Antagonist', p. 349.

2 Charles Dickens has often been wrongly associated with campaigns for the abolition of the death penalty. In fact, following his witnessing of the hanging of the Mannings in 1849, Dickens' campaign began for the abolition of public executions, for he had been profoundly horrified by the ghoulish enjoyment and interest of the spectators. See for example, John Forster, The Life of Charles Dickens (Two Volumes) Dent Edition, London, 1966 II, p. 87.

3 Owst, Literature and Pulpit, p. 508.

4 ibid.

5 St Albans Cathedral manuscript, quoted in Owst, Literature and Pulpit, p. 508.

In performed Drama there is a similar emphasis on pain and suffering in the crucifixion plays, which is not necessarily strictly devotional in character, but panders to the baser instincts of the audience. Routine exaggerations glorify the torment. The York Crucifixio Cristi 'enters fully into the horrors'. The Soldiers are equipped with 'nayles large and lange ... such faitoures to chastise'. As Jenkins observes:

> the soldiers actually express hope that stretching (to fit the cross) will prove necessary in order that they may derive perverse pleasure from inflicting the attendant pain.[1]

The overall point is that the dramatist has been able to keep the sacred storyline, but pre-empt and distort the emotional tone.

f) The Concept of 'Negotiation'

It is possible to claim, in summary, that the feudal population was not entirely 'passive' in relation to the ruling groups in Medieval England, and that Drama played a role in the renegotiation of assumptions and ideas that took place. Although in Gramscian terms the conditions of feudal society could not be deemed a true hegemony, challenge to ingrained consensual ideas arose in the main from a tendency to infuse the sacred tradition with realistic contemporary issues and a proletarian sentiment arising out of a sense of disadvantage and oppression. Drama contributed to conscious movement, and developed ways of appraising, vivifying and re-cycling what Greenblatt has labelled critical 'social energy'.[2]

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1 Jenkins, p. 349.

2 Stephen Greenblatt, Shakespearean Negotiations: The Circulation of Social Energy in Renaissance England, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1988, p. 15.

4. The Drama and Theatre of the Royalists and the Parliamentarians

a) Changing Cultural Circumstances

As we move into this section, which examines the place of Drama and Theatre in the conflicts of the English Civil War, we are again theoretically dealing, according to Gramsci,[1] with a pre-hegemonic condition in which 'passive sedimentation' best describes the historical legacy of class-related consciousness. Significantly, however, for the purposes of this study, Gramsci also identifies the broadly ideological 'Puritan' regime in England as one in which identifiable 'manipulation' took place seeking to ensure the legitmated further entrenchment of the dominant group:

> Gramsci did think that some ideological mediation was necessary - hence his stress on how the Purtian ethic was manipulated to legitimate the behaviour (abstention from alcohol and 'disorderly' sexual activity) necessary for rationalized production techniques. Maximum efficiency is of course impossible when workers dissipate their energies ...[2]

In this section, therefore, we aim to see how far Drama was allowed to make a significant contribution to the efficacy of the dominant ruling group, and how far cultural sanctions were drawn up against it by those who perceived its popularity as a real threat to societal consensus. Account is also taken of the emergence of voluntary Post-School education, distinguished from the 'classical tradition' of education by both its vocational orientation and its relatively subordinate social class membership. A part of the thrust towards voluntary post-school education was undoubtedly a result of the prevailing philosophy of learning, as Taylor recounts.[3] The practical results, including the

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1 Gramsci, cited in Femia, Gramsci's Political Thought, p. 30.
2 Femia, Gramsci's Political Thought, p. 30.
3 E.G.R. Taylor, The Mathematical Practitioners of Tudor and Stuart England, Cambridge, C.U.P., 1954, pp. 1-2.

foundation of Gresham College,[1] generated the possibility of a critical perspective on Further Education which is essentially historical; a not untypical example is Monroe's assertion that the ideology governing the foundation of Gresham College 'contained the germs of all modern educational development'.[2] The significance of these early ventures in Further Education for this Chapter is that they stand as emblems of deep divisions between the classical tradition and the demands of a transitional culture which was forced to recognize and 'value' more practical knowledge and skills. But we must be wary of identifying these differing educational ideologies as a simple dichotomy, in the same way that we need to be wary of over-simplifying the interests of the Puritan-Catholic factions. The growing cultural tension culminating in the English Civil War has often been attributed to a simple two-way conflict between Crown and Parliament, aided by religious fanaticism, but as Marx noted, such a view is

> trivial ... a banal narration of the merely political events'.[3]

It fails to take account of inter-related activities and incorporations between dominant and subordinate cultural groups which became an increasing characteristic of English culture. In particular, the Protestant-Catholic conflict was not merely a manifestation of religious differences, according to Marx, but of a fear that economic and financial power could get out of the hands of the dominant group. It was a fear, for example:

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1 J. Ward, The Lives of the Professors of Gresham College, London, 1740, Chapter 11.

2 Paul Monroe, A Text Book in the History of Education, New York, 1740, Chapter 11.

3 Karl Marx, 'Review of Guizot's Book on the English Revolution', in David Fernback (ed.), Karl Marx: Surveys From Exile: Political Writings, Vol. 2, Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1973, pp. 250-256, pp. 253-254.

felt by the commercial and industrial bourgeoisie, since Catholicism by no means suited their business interests.[1]

This view implies that outright civil conflict was a result of far more complex forces than merely an embattlement of religious differences.

Each of the interest groups which had some putative legitimate claim to cultural dominance through religion, politics or economics now required forms of instruction and means of communication, which could consolidate power, coerce any oppositional activities, and accommodate dissident voices with minimal disruption. If our earliest observations concerning the potentially 'slippery' roles of Drama are accurate, then it is possible to infer a relatively wide scope for interesting manoevre. It is to this question that our analysis now turns, bearing in mind Gramsci's assertion that Puritan dominance could not have been achieved without active 'mediation' and manipulation of a kind anticipating the conditions pertaining under true hegemony.[2]

One possibility is that the ambiguities and complexities surrounding the Theatre of the Royalists and the Parliamentarians had its roots in social and political upheaval. Each side 'encouraged' Drama to act 'instrumentally' on behalf of its power base. This was achanced speculative natureSof texts, productions and performances carried a risk that apparent compliance to the apparent sponsor might mask a significant subtext pressing a social critique.

b) The Place of Text and Performance in Cultural Change

Both the power of Drama, in terms of its community appeal on a long-term consensual basis, and its 'problems', particularly its capacity to present questions and issues out of tune with prevailing ideological

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1 ibid.
2 Femia, Gramsci's Political Thought, p. 30.

stances, were recognized as the stable and relatively unified feudal order began to fragment. Indeed, Salingar argues that the strong community appeal generated through Drama was consciously generated and nurtured as an 'alternative' voice':

> The May-Games, morris dances, 'feasts of misrule' and similar 'disguisings' of the villages and country towns formed a lively and semi-independent culture connected with seasonal festivities ... and it was independent in the sense that craftsmen and peasants could sing, dance and mime without waiting for professionals to show them how to do it.[1]

This relatively limited form of local Drama, according to Salingar, became a significant vehicle for voicing personal and social grievances and presenting wider political argument in a cultural setting whose foundation was based upon displayed conformity to the dominant social group:

> A Yorkshire case of 1602 turned on a libellous jig devised by a gentlemen's household servant, 'that they might be merry at Christmas withal'; a May-game procession at Wells in 1607 libelled a group of prominent Puritans and employers; and the tenants of Kendal in 1621 voiced their resentment against their landlords by means of a local play.[2]

Bevington also stresses the challenging cultural impact of such local Drama, pointing out that the social and political concerns carried through dramatic texts and performances were far-ranging long before the rise of the commercial London Theatre.[3] There is general agreement that during this period Drama was not only a vehicle for expressed tensions at a local level, but also provided an 'embryonic' channel for wider cultural criticism, which either would tend to be suppressed, or else somehow assimilated and incorporated into the dominant order.

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1 L.G. Salingar, in Ford, p. 33.
2 ibid., p. 34.
3 David Bevington, Tudor Drama and Politics, Cambridge, Mass., 1968, Chapter 1.

Increasingly from 1603, the year in which Drama became subject to overt legal control or 'constraint'[1] through the censorship laws, we can see Drama becoming one of the principal means by which opposing groups, even at the core of dominance, attacked each other. It is possible to infer that such attacks, seeking to alter a climate of opinion by the deployment of argument, scorn and ridicule, represent attempts to promote hegemonic consensus by cultural coercion rather than by willing consent. Blood-letting, the ultimate form of coercion, was to occur later.

The stage was utilized as an important weapon in a wider ideological battle. Thomas Cromwell, foreshadowing the full Puritan campaign, commissioned Protestant propagandist interlude writers, including most notably John Bale, Bishop of Ossory and author of the famous anti-Catholic King Johan, to deliver a merciless attack upon Catholic Royalty. Fear of the Reformers' use of the stage for anti-Royalist propaganda grew to such an extent that after the 1603 censorship laws, strict control was exercised by the Office of Lord Chamberlain upon the content of all plays.[2]

Simultaneously, Royalist supporters were bitterly counter-attacking the Reformers and Puritans through Drama. The Theatre was evidently serving, with equal verve, directly opposing factions. The content of the plays was fequently scurrilous, and the tone virulent. For example, in The Philosopher's Satires Robert Anton robustly attacks Puritans as

> hypocrites, secret lechers and kill-joys
>
> spread with austerest schism.[3]

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1 Femia, Gramsci's Political Thought, p. 28.
2 David Bevington, Tudor Drama and Politics, Cambridge, Mass., 1968, Chapter 1.
3 Robert Anton, The Philosophers' Satires, London, 1616, p. 46. (STC 686).

The plays and playhouses had immense popular appeal. When the sheer popularity of the Theatre was married to expressions of social discontent, there was a considerable danger of riot and disorder among the population, according to Knights.[1] The subtlety and equivocation of Drama, noted with regard to the surprising flexibility and space it found itself even in the context of the Medieval religious oligarchy,[2] is again apparent. In utilizing the pedagogical strengths of the Theatre, the Protestant Reformers, and ultimately the Puritans themselves, were paradoxically attempting the same 'conscription' of Drama to instrumental instructional ends as the Medieval church. There were, of course, differences. Reformed religion had no parallel rhetoric of legitimacy for pressing the admission of Drama in the service of its aspirations to cultural dominance. The Puritan tradition was not only without ritualistic forms, but actually committed to an abrogation of all representation of religious truth following the tradition of John Knox who denounced as 'Diabolicall invention'[3], all forms of ceremony and ritualized representation. Any 'natural' appeal to dramatic forms for instrumental or expressive purposes was in the teeth of this austere legacy.

But popular need for some form of dramatic release was strong, so in a sense Puritans found themselves facing the same moral predicament regarding Drama as St Augustine. As the movement for Reformation developed and grew, its leaders were forced to find methods for the transmission of Biblical and moral precepts which were acceptable to a congregation who were not only deprived of the spectacle of the Mass

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1 L.C. Knights, Drama and Society in the Age of Jonson, Harmondsworth: Penguin/Chatto and Windus, (1937) 1962, pp. 145-150.
2 Stevens, Four Middle English Mystery Cycles, p. 19.
3 B.J. Kidd, (ed.) Documents Illustrative of The Continental Reformation Oxford: O.U.P., 1911, pp. 691, 703.

which had accompanied the earlier doctrine, but who were also more capable of applying personal interpretations through increasing literacy. What occurred can be confidently characterized as a turning towards the more mechanistic aspects of Drama, which arguably excused or otherwise legitimated at least a provisonal endorsement of Drama by both of the strong dominant 'groups' competing for ultimate control. Dramatic techniques were also perceived as carrying lessons for preachers on the styles of delivery most persuasive to a congregation increasingly unwilling to be passive listeners:

> There were confluxes of people to hear and learn. And by this means the Ministers and Curates were forced to consult expositors and commentators ... that they might speak to some purpose when they were to appear in public:[1]

Even Knox approved of this more instrumental role. In passing it might be of interest to note that The Scottish First Book of Discipline made elaborate provision for the instruction of adults through a stylized (and in one sense highly dramatic) form of religious debate.[2] Known as the 'exercise', its underlying principle was based on a passage in Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians:

> Let the prophets speak two or three, and let the other judge ... For ye may all prophesy one by one, that all may learn, and all may be comforted.[3]

In the 'exercise', the congregation was required to listen to the preacher adopting a variety of roles. It was stressed that the arguments were sometimes representative, a 'projected' stance rather than one which was immediately attributable. The purpose of the device, according to McMillan, was so that the congregation could gain experiences of

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1 J. Strype, Annals of the Reformation, London: 1711, Vol. II, part i, pp. 133-140.
2 D. Laing, (ed.) The Works of John Knox, Edinburgh, 1848.
3 Corinthians, XIV, 29, 31.

situations and debates other than their own.[1] Despite anxieties about representational forms, it is clear that a form of projected or vicarious experience was used in the 'instruction' of adults, and we now need to examine the ways in which culturally powerful forces justified this, and how Drama behaved in response.

The most vehement opponents of Drama offer an indirect endorsement of its instrumental value in a subservient instructional role, while at the same time recognizing concomitant dangers in its capacity to generate expressive challenge. Thus, although Stubbs condemns Theatre generally, his Anatomy of Abuses reveals a surprising sympathy towards its instrumental and pedagogical usefulness:

> All abuses cut away, who seeth not that some kind of plays, tragedies and interludes, in their own nature are not only of great ancientie, but also very honest and very commendable exercises, being used and practised in most Christian common weals, as which contain matter (such may they be) both of doctrine, erudition, good example, and wholesome instruction; conducible to example of life and reformation of manners. For such is our gross and dull nature, that what thing we see opposite before our eyes, do pierce further, and print deeper in our hearts and minds than that thing which is heard only with the ears.[2]

We next need to consider how and why, after the acute civil conflict, the 'victorious' Puritan group proceeded to narrow the opportunities for Drama. Such an analysis depends to some extent on an awareness of changing circumstances in the lower social orders. As Altick points out, the ability to spell out a broad-sheet or ballad was to have a profound effect upon society; never again was England to return to anything remotely resembling a feudal system.[3]

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1 W. McMillan, The Worship of the Scottish Reformed Church: 1550-1638, London, 1931, Appendix III.

2 Philip Stubbs, Anatomy of Abuses, edited by Furnivall, London, Preface, 1882.

3 R.D. Altick, The English Common Reader, Chicago, 1957, p. 29, quoted in Kelly, p. 31.

c) Puritanism: The Response of Drama

As we have noted already, Drama in its many guises was utilized by both Royalists and Parliamentarians in their fight for social and cultural supremacy. We must now attempt to decipher why the emerging dominant Puritan group initially encouraged, but then damned, Drama, the latter with a degree of near-vitriolic fervour unmatched by almost any other society seeking to assert control over potentially subversive art forms.

The Reforming movement, which will be subsequently labelled as 'Parliamentarian' or 'Puritan', initially used Drama in a whole variety of roles. We may infer that the assistance to the emergent Parliamentarian force had become considerable by the time of the censorship rules which were directed against Parliamentary propagandist plays after 1603.[1] As late as 1624 we find 'Puritan' plays, such as Herbert's The Duchess of Suffolk, being used as direct attacks upon Catholic and Royalist sympathies.[2] Clearly it would be too simplistic to ascribe the labels of 'pro-Drama' to the Royalist faction, and 'anti-Drama' to the Parliamentarian forces, as some commentators such as Burton have misleadingly done.[3] A sounder judgement would be that the early wide dependence of the aspiring Puritan group on a variety of Drama's roles, both instrumental and expressive, turned into a deep suspicion of its expressive role once the Puritan regime had attained its precarious dominance. In spite of Heinemann's assertion

> that Parliament ordered the Theatres (in 1642) to be closed is probably the best-known fact in English theatrical history,[4]

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1 Heinemann, Puritanism and the Theatre, Ch. 2.
2 Sir Henry Herbert, The Duchess of Suffolk, London, no publisher's name, British Library, 1631, pages unnumbered, (51C 7242)
3 E.J. Burton, The Students' Guide to World Theatre, London, Herbert Jenkins, 1963, pp. 68-69.
4 Heinemann, p. 18.

it is also true that Drama continued to be used before the formal closure of the theatres as a mechanistic device in Puritan sermons such as Preston's,[1] as a propagandist device in Puritan plays such as Middleton's A Game at Chess[2], and as a recommended means of learning in a variety of Puritan tracts, perhaps best exemplified by Adams' A Divine Herball.[3]

Like their Medieval counterparts, the aspiring Puritan faction also inherited the need to assimilate a strong folk-tradition of expressive Drama. According to both Hibberd[4] and Hill[5], Drama was so popular, particularly among the skilled artisan classes, that the attempts to restrict it could only meet with limited success.[6]

Certainly during the times of greatest uncertainty, when it was unclear whether the Monarchist tradition or Puritanism would prevail, the Puritans remained tolerant of the 'expressive' folk-tradition of Drama. Without taking an over-cynical view of this phenomenon, it is possible to suggest that the Puritans were harnessing every opportunity to utilize any means to challenge and undermine their 'opponents'. In Middleton's politically-charged satire A Game at Chess, for example, we see Puritan virtues being extolled in contrast with vices held to be associated with Royalty and Catholicism:

> The Court has held the city by the horns whilst I have milked her[7]

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1 John Preston, The New Creature, London, no publisher's name, British Library, 1633, (STC 20262), p. 42.
2 Thomas Middleton, A Game At Chess, (1624), Edited by J.W. Harper, London, New Mermaid, 1966.
3 Thomas Adams, 'A Divine Herball' in Works, London, no publisher's name, British Library, 1630, (STC 111).
4 G.R. Hibberd, 'The Tragedies of Thoman Middleton and The Decadences of The Drama', in Renaissance and Modern Studies, London, i, 1957, p. 53.
5 Christopher Hill, Society and Puritanism in Pre-Revolutionary England, London, 1964, pp. 22-26.
6 Hill, Reformation to Revolution, pp. 40-44.
7 Thomas Middleton, A Game at Chess, (1624) edited by J.W. Harper, London, New Mermaid, 1966 III, I, 108.

'The city' carries insightful overtones, linking urban and commercial interests with the cultural convulsions surrounding the English Civil War. Although religion may have been the 'public' face of Puritanism, we must note the need for a new accommodation of economic shifts and relocated class interests. As Heinemann indicates, religious transition was matched by widespread societal upheaval at a time of

> unusually rapid change and tension involving most social groupings in one way or another ... a shake-up of social and moral codes (and) an exceptional degree of social mobility.[1]

The emerging Puritan faction within the dominant group depended as much upon consolidating economic power as upon establishing moral and religious mores. The emerging middle-classes and relatively high-status skilled craftsmen could not afford to contemplate a return to High-Church domination, since they had materially gained much from the forfeiture of Catholic lands. And initially at least, Drama within these complex cultural strands worked to the advantage of the Puritans in the sense that it 'popularized' their cause. Certainly a play such as The Duchess of Suffolk, staged in 1624, combined a strong nationalist and anti-Papist sentiment with a new-found romantic portrayal of stout Protestant labourers and merchants in a conversational and vernacular idiom, as when a tiler says rather touchingly that his tools 'won't run away'.[2] Heinemann makes it clear that The Duchess of Suffolk received financial and moral backing from institutional Puritan sources,[3] which seems to present strong circumstantial evidence that dramatic texts and performances were capable of contributing to a cohesive pattern. Yet it was not long before the Puritans engineered an about-face that

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1 Heinemann, p. 4.
2 Herbert, The Duchess of Suffolk, pages unnumbered.
3 Heinemann, Puritanism and Theatre, Chapter 2.

demonstrated renewed antagonism towards Drama. Butler's views on the circumstances leading to the closure of the Theatres probably present a reasonable solution to the puzzle of why the Puritans chose to dispense with the support of Drama:

> The theatres were dangerously volatile and articulate institutions with a recent history of inflammatory performances ... They were places where debate was suspiciously free and association uncontrolled[1]

Butler suggests that many of the moral objections raised against Drama by the Puritans were little more than red herrings which were used to deflect attention away from the real cause. So although moral or religious phrases, such as 'the deadly sins are on the Stage,'[2] were frequently used to condemn Drama, we may argue that these formed a part of the mechanism by which the dominant Puritan group ensured cultural compliance.[3] Clearly the dominant group had not anticipated the powers of infiltration of commonsensical knowledge and political awareness generated through the performance of popular plays. We must also note Heinemann's account of the 'power' of the audiences:

> The audiences were never to be so wide again until the coming of film and television; the dramatist was thus in a sense working for the equivalent of the mass media.[4]

This assertion is paralleled in Harbage's account, in which a more accessible theatre, whether Royalist or Puritan in sympathy, increasingly became a focus of 'proletarian' interest:

> an evening in the cheapest part of the Theatre, at a penny, was cheaper than an evening in the ale-house, where a quart of ale cost fourpence.[5]

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1 Martin Butler, Theatre and Crisis: 1632-1642, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1984, p. 138.
2 Thomas Adams, 'A Divine Herball', in Works, London 1630, p. 1018, British Library, (STC III).
3 Salingar, in Ford.
4 Heinemann, p. 10.
5 A.L. Harbage, Shakespeare's Audience, London, 1941, pp. 58-60.

We may conjecture that the increasing marginalisation of Drama by the Puritans owed a great deal more to concern for the capacity of the stage to undermine social control over economic life than perception of it as a moral or spiritual risk. It is a point which Heinemann unequivocally underlines in her claim that the theatres

> encouraged apprentices to absent themselves from work ... (and) gave an opportunity for the unemployed and idle to meet in riotous assemblies. Indeed, unruly apprentices and servants had admitted that they foregathered at stage plays to organise their 'mutinous attempts, being also the ordinary places for masterless men to come together'.[1]

Although the Puritans effectively 'expelled' Drama from the 'curriculum' of popular experience by closing the Theatres, the language of imagination and personal expression attainable through Drama continued to reach the lower social orders, adding some force to Coggin's assertion that Drama is as 'irrepressible as the hydra'.[2] Prose associated with the Puritan cause drew freely from metaphors of the stage:

> God lets you alone for the time, till you be gone off the Stage.[3]

It may be useful at this point to offer an account of those whose livelihood had previously depended upon the theatre. On one level we can view the 're-direction' of many playwrights' talents to the writing of sermons tracts and pamphlets as a piece of mercenary opportunism which placed their expertise at the service of the prevailing dominant group as a means of ensuring their continued livelihood. At another level, we can view the shift as a commonsensical adjustment through which the expressive needs of the lower social orders could continue to infiltrate the ideology of the prevailing dominant group. The content both of

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1 Heinemann, p. 32.
2 Coggin, pp. 104-105.
3 John Preston, The New Creature, London, British Library, (STC 20262) p. 42.

published pamphlets and sermons reflected a semantic and syntactic influence which is directly attributable to Drama. Extracts from the anti-Laud pamphlets of 1642, for example, demonstrate a highly conscious use of dramatic technique in style (dialogue), structure (progressive acts) and content. But swiftly the tone of the pamphlets, dedicated on the surface to support of the Puritan regime, changed. While the narrative remained apparently faithful to the initial side taken in the Puritan-Royalist conflict, the sub-text often contained a far more personal view of day-to-day living and suggested the realities and problems of proletarian life. It is a point to which Heinemann returns:

> Time and again the lively published tracts return to the same presentation methods and the same content: the same grievances already dramatized in the subversive plays against the bishops and their courts, against the Puritan ministers ... greedy for tithes and monopolists who squeeze money out of the poor.[1]

Thus both 'Bishops' and 'ministers'[2] as true representatives of the dominant order became depicted as enemies of the poor, indicating strongly that the apparent shift in the relationships of the dominant order offered little real change for subordinate classes. Similarly, when we look at the summary of contents on the title page of Overton's six page pamphlet Canterbury His Change of Diet, it becomes obvious that the structure of the work is overtly dramatic:

1. Act. The Bishop of Canterbury having variety of dainties, is not satisfied till he be fed with tippets of men's ears.
2. Act. He hath his nose held to the grindstone.
3. Act. He is put into a bird-cage with the Confessor.
4. Act. The Jester tells the King the story.[3]

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1 Heinemann, p. 239.
2 ibid.
3 Quoted in G.C. Smith, College Plays, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press 1923, p. 85.

The figures of the Bishop, the Jester and the King, together with the earthy crudity of the 'grindstone' joke[1], are strongly reminiscent of the humour of Medieval religious Drama. Something of the flavour of Overton's vigorous piece can be gleaned from the denouement. In the final 'act' of the pamphlet, for all practical purposes a little playlet, the Jester (represented in an illustration with the traditional cap and bells, according to Smith)[2] roars with laughter as he reports all the Bishop's misdeeds to the King. The King fails to appreciate the joke, and reprimands the Fool, calling him 'sirrah'. The epilogue is a 'jig', the traditional song-and-dance finale of so many Elizabethan plays, between a Parator (the Apparitor, or Summoner of the Ecclesiastical Court) and the Fool, in which the Parator agrees, since his master is fallen and he can make no more profit, that in future

> We'll wear tippet fool-caps and never undo men.[3]

The idiom is obviously that of the more familiar live theatre with its sharply caricatured character types, its jigs, its snatches of folk-song and its jesters, who mix in serious matters and dare answer back to the King. Such a 'sermon-satire' was obviously aimed to reach people who ordinarily went to plays and who knew the theatre well. Cornforth has argued that Puritan pamphlets, sermons and tracts were specific replacements for performed Drama, and largely associated with 'rebel' causes:

> This seems clear from the evidence of style alone; but it can also be shown that some of the writers had personal links with the Theatre which must have helped to form them and their writings and to prepare their audience ... Richard Overton, whose connection with the Drama has not previously been noticed ... John Harris, well known to have been a professional actor ... The facts are interesting not only in themselves, but for the light they throw on the range of

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1 ibid., p. 85.
2 ibid., pp. 85-86.
3 ibid.

> attitudes of Dramatists and audiences, and the continuity they suggest between those audiences and the more radical ... among London Parliamentarians.[1]

By the word 'radical'[2], Cornforth underlines how easily Drama made proletarian affiliations during the unstable conditions of Royalist and Parliamentary conflict, in spite of the apparently collaborative gestures made by dramatic writers and performers.

5. Some Concluding Observations

At the opening of this Chapter it was suggested that if Drama in two paradigmatic historical cases demonstrated an unwillingness to be co-opted into a prevailing dominant social order, whether stable or unstable, then serious consideration would have to be given to the hypothesis that Drama's practitioners are dispositionally inclined to allow it to play tense, provocative, subversive or negotiating roles in most cultural settings, and through its political unreliability attract suspicion and hostility even from those seeking to use it. The exact balance between these forces will commonsensically be determined by specific local and historical traditions, but if the general proposition holds, it would be prudent to regard the tensions and ambiguities associated with the role of Drama in contemporary Further Education itself as to some extent evidencing a wider tendency.

Although two cases by themselves do not warrant any attempt to universalize this assertion, the Chapter is strongly suggestive that this might very well be the case. Even when finding himself compliant in a stable cultural order, the Medieval dramatist was able to question and modify the tradition through speculative theology, alternative

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1 M. Cornforth, (ed.) Rebels and Their Causes, London, 1978, quoted in Heinemann, p. 238.

2 Cornforth quoted in Heinemann, p. 238.

explorations of the Feudal ideology, realism and contemporaneous social awareness, humour and horror. In the unstable social conditions during the conflict between Royalists and Parliamentarians, Drama allowed itself to be 'borrowed' by both sides of the dominant group for structural support, but ultimately the protagonists showed themselves to be politically unreliable through a capacity to act with apparently equal 'conviction' for directly conflicting interests. In both Medieval cultural unity and civil unrest, Drama possessed the capacity to question or even challenge the prevailing dominant group, by bringing attention to commonsensical issues governing the day-to-day life of the majority of the population, and subjecting these to subjective imaginative reappraisal.

CHAPTER THREE:

FURTHER EDUCATION: ITS PREDECESSORS AND EVOLUTION

1. Further Education: Its Conception

Any attempt to conduct an historically-grounded inquiry into the precursors of contemporary Further Education, and the place of Drama or quasi-dramatic pedagogies in its provision, faces a critical problem of interpretation concerning the significance of the events surrounding the year 1698.[1] Although the foundation in that year of the Society for the Promotion of Christian knowledge represents some kind of well-documented modal point in the ancestry of 'Post-School' Education[2], commentaries which begin accounts of Further Education with this date are perhaps exaggeratingly attributing a relatively dispersed cultural phenomenon to a comparatively small independent cultural group.[3] Not all historical interpretations of the emergence of Further Education in England accept the notion of 'fertilization' of opportunity. Hodgen, for example, argues that:

> Before 1870 ... Education (for workers) had no aim beyond training for apprenticeship or circulating religious doctrine.[4]

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1 1698 saw the foundation of the society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, the first organized body to provide widespread opportunities for 'adult' education. See, for example, H.J. Edwards, The Evening Institute, London, National Institute of Adult Education, 1961, p. 13.

2 ibid.

3 ibid.

4 Margaret Hodgen, Workers' Education in England and the United States, Kegan Paul, London, 1925, p. 25.

Neither of the dates 1698[1] and 1870[2] are especially useful delineators, since several commentators have shown that precursors to working class adult education extend back to the Renaissance.[3] There is however, general agreement that the political and social roots and subsequent evolution of Further Education are inextricably intertwined with the evolving circumstances of the lower social orders, and linked with 'apprenticeship'[4]. Edwards attributed many of the early developments to paternalistic reformers who were 'shocked by the condition of the poor'.[5] As the urban proletariat grew in numbers, there is a strong presumption that their needs were made increasingly audible to the prevailing dominant group. There is certainly incontestable evidence that some form of 'education' or 'instruction' existed for the lower classes long before the date cited by either Edwards[6] or Hodgen[7], which was associated with the drift of the urban poor into the towns and cities. In general, this instruction took the form of printed matter which became increasingly accessible to the skilled working-classes during the Sixteenth century, as levels of literacy increased.[8] Blagrave's Mathematical Jewell (1585), for example, is dedicated to an

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1 Edwards, The Evening Institute, p. 13.
2 Hodgen, Workers' Education, p. 25.
3 J. Doverwitson, see, for example Study in Renaissance, London, Sidgwick and Jackson, 1928, pp. 5-8.
4 See, for example, J.W. Hudson, The History of Adult Education, London, Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, 1851; Ronald King, School and College: Studies of Post-School Education, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1976; and Hodgen, Workers' Education, p. 15.
5 Evans, The Evening Institute, p. 13.
6 ibid.
7 Hodgen, p. 25.
8 L. Salingar 'The Social Setting: The Nation and the Drama: 1558-1625', in B. Ford, The Age of Shakespeare, Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1955, p. 34.

extension of the availability of knowledge for artisans.[1] Similarly the 'Preface' to Coote's Englische Scholemaister (1596) explicitly targets

> such men and women of trade as Taylors, Weavers, Shopkeepers, Seamsters and others as have undertaken the charge of teaching others.[2]

We may regard this as circumstancial evidence that even a realigned social class structure merely imitated the older elite dominant order by holding tightly to the reins of educational provision to the skilled artisan and lower classes. Further evidence of this targetting is clear from the foundation of Gresham College, which was explicitly intended for the skilled working-classes,

> providing education for the common benefit of the people of the city: merchants and other citizens, as have small knowledge of the Latin tongue.[3]

Educational provision for the lower orders also outcropped elsewhere in response to political and economic needs. Watson recounted the incident of an adult 'school' lying next to the Ship Inn, to which servants and apprentices were welcomed by the local schoolmaster after school hours

> for the learning of any of these Artes and Faculties ... it may please them to repayre into the house of Humphrey Baker, dwelling on the North Side of the Royalle Exchange, next adjoyning to the signe of the shippe.[4]

All of this rested, of course, on an earlier legacy. Erasmus, for example, had circulated Colloquia before 1500 as an exposure of quasi-religious practices being used to take advantage of the lower

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1 See John Blagrave, Mathematical Jewell, London, 1585, no publisher's name, British Library.

2 Edmund Coote, Englische Scholemaister (1596) cited in J.W. Adamson, The Illiterate Anglo-Saxon, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1946, p. 56.

3 Ward, The Lives of the Professors, London, no publisher's name, 1740, 'Preface'.

4 J. Watson, The Beginnings of the Teaching of Modern Subjects in England, London, no publisher's name, 1909, p. 32.

classes. A series of dialogues or one-act plays, Colloquia had a 'profound and far-reaching effect upon the common people',[1] perhaps not least because its dramatic form and style must have been familiar to those who had been accustomed to informal learning through the Theatre.

Colloquia raises some interesting points concerning the effectiveness of dramatic form for the education and enlightenment of 'working-class' adults whose satisfaction with purely instrumental instruction could not always be relied upon.

Common to all of these occurrences was a broadening of access to knowledge for those not directly associated with the governing class. Richard More's The Carpenter's Rule, published in 1602, was in effect a practical geometry for workmen who were required to measure timber in the course of their work; it also included a succinct introduction to Gresham College:

> If any man of knowledge shall except against me for my rude writing and grosse demonstrations, I pray them to understand that I writ not for them but for the simple; and therefore I demonstrate grossely, not being well able to doe better: also that I am not a scholler but a carpenter, and therfore could not but writ rudely ... But...let me put you in minde for this one thing: that such as are of reasonable capacitie, would spend some part of their spare time to studie. For your furtherance herein there are especiall good helps at the lecture at Gresham College, every Thursday in the terme time.[2]

More's 'apology' for 'rude writing'[3] was courteous, but misplaced, for as Smith notes:

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1 Charles Potter, Religion: with Special Reference to Atavisms Common Elements and Parallel Customs in the Religions of the World, London: Harrap, 1930, p. 350.

2 Richard Moore, 'The Carpenter's Rule', (1602) quoted in H.P. Smith, Science into Adult Education: A Phase of Humanism in the Age of Discovery, Adult Education and Society Series, Documentary No. 10, Oxford, undated p. 44.

3 More, cited in Science into Adult Education, p.44.

> Practical English wisdom beginning in the seventeenth century began more and more to stand aloof from that which was embodied in the Colleges and Universities.[1]

Smith clearly regards the separation between the two forms of education as a precondition for the establishment of working class education, concluding that it was nurtured as a self-conscious anthithesis to aristocratic (and subsequently bourgeois) educational processes. Wilson however, argues the more plausible alternative thesis that the emphasis on 'practical ... wisdom'[2], was a direct result of unease among the dominant group about the potential re-ordering of societal groups. Whilst acknowledging the need, both economically and practically, for a minimal education of the emerging subordinate classes, the governing group developed increasing hostility to forms of proletarian education which could not be defended as directly relevant to a practical trade, or to religion.[3] These circumstances, in short, greatly contributed to the establishment of instrumentalism as the justificatory framework for Further Education. Without wishing to over-emphasize the importance of Drama as an index of this conflict, it is impossible to overlook the critically ambivalent role played by writers, performers and audience in the emergence of educational provision directly precursory to Further Education, and the ambiguous status that it was perceived to carry from the very beginning.

Bacon's philosophy of practical scientific learning is often cited as a strong influence upon the development of working-class adult education,[4] and it is significant that one of his most vehement condemnations was directed against Drama. Rossi records that the basis

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1 Smith, Science into Adult Education, p. 33.
2 Smith, p. 33.
3 Wilson, Chapter 3.
4 See for example, J.W. Hudson, The History of Adult Education, London, 1851, pp. 1-17.

of the attack was Drama's supposed 'evasion of problems of experience and reality'.[1] According to Monroe, however, Bacon on another occasion asserted that personal participation in dramatic activity could be seen as an 'analogy' of experience capable of inspiring 'valid deductive reasoning'.[2] One solution to the puzzle lying behind Bacon's apparently contradictory views of Drama may lie in Harrison's reasoning that Bacon's own experiences had taught him the potential powers which Drama possessed in its 'eloquence ... and copie of speech'.[3]

Charles Hoole devoted an entire section of A New Discovery of the Old Art of Teaching Schools[4] to a detailed exposition of the advantages of Drama in scientific learning; a typical extract reads:

> When you meet with an act that is full of affliction and action, you may cause some of your scholars, after they have learned it, to act it, first in private amongst themselves, and afterwards in the open school before their fellows; and herein you must have a main care of the pronunciation, and acting every gesture to the very life.[5]

On the other hand any over-association of Drama with the lower social orders was perceived as dangerous. A Common Player, for example, jibed at the deceit purportedly inherent in all playwrights and actors:

> Howsoever he pretends to have a royal master or mistress, his wages and dependence prove him to be the servant of the people.[6]

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1 P. Rossi, (Translated by S. Rabinowitch) Francis Bacon: From Magic to Science, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1968, p. 44.
2 Monroe, A Text Book in The History of Education, p. 475.
3 J.L. Harrison 'Bacon's View of Rhetoric, Poetry and the Imagination', in B. Vickers (ed.) Essential Articles for the Study of Francis Bacon, Connecticutt: Arction Books, 1968, p.259. (My emphasis)
4 Charles Hoole, A New Discovery of the Old Art of Teaching Schools, London, 1660, Edited by Campagnac, Liverpool, 1913, Section III, Parts I-IV.
5 ibid., p. 120.
6 J. Cocke, A Common Player, London, 1615, quoted in Chambers, Elizabethan Stage, IV, p. 256. (My emphasis)

The need to assert social control over Drama led to coercive restraint, involving at times the apparatus of the law. That the potentially subversive effects of Drama on the populace were feared can be readily discerned in Bedford's Serious Reflexions on the Scandalous Abuse and Effects of the Stage. The 'Appendix' allowed a Grand Jury which sat at Bristol Quarter Sessions to lament the impact of Drama, which

> will exceedingly eclipse the good order and government of the city, corrupt and debauch our youth and utterly ruin many apprentices and servants.[1]

The language of both extracts emphasises the issue of whether Drama was a potentially 'problematic' influence in disordering the ranks of those who composed the social hierarchy. For Drama per se, we can argue, was not the main object of dominant criticism. Instead it was the juxtaposition of individual expression (encouraged through all forms of Drama) with a new access to factual and economically based learning among subordinate classes. When the means of expression (Drama) was joined by an informed base of knowledge (emerging Further Education), then 'apathetic'[2] compliance to the dominant group was no longer an automatic condition. Thomas Britton, the 'musical small coal man' of Clerkenwell, was one of many who began to separate simple craft-pride from aesthetic expression:

> In the day-time he was to be seen, in blue smock and with a sack of coal on his shoulders hawking his wares in the streets; but his evenings were given up to books and music. Over the stable in which he conducted his business was a long low room, accessible only by a ladder-like staircase from outside. This Britton converted into a concert room and here for thirty six years, from 1678 onwards, he arranged concerts every Thursday evening, with coffee at a penny a dish.[3]

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1 A. Bedford, Serious Reflexions on the Scandalous Abuse and Effects of the Stage, London, No publisher's name, 1704, Appendix. (My emphasis)
2 Femia, Gramsci's Political Thought, pp. 48-49.
3 Kelly, pp. 59-60.

In summary, it seems that Further Education, in its broadest sense, was linked from the very beginning to a distinctly class-related ideology. This left Drama making patchy headway in society, either by accommodation or playing to the tensions. We next turn to a brief examination of contemporary texts to explore the extent to which they reflect a growing sensibility to the intrinsic worth of the labouring classes.

2. Drama and Class Consciousness

We begin this part of the investigation by noting a pervasive dichotomy in dramatic portrayals of social class. On one side of the divide we see the emergence of a bawdy, sexually explicit Restoration Theatre from 1660, which concentrated on, and indeed celebrated, the sexual behaviour of the upper-classes.[1] On the other side of the dichotomy we see an increasing sympathy for the lower social orders, with a new emphasis on the independent dignity of low characters. Since it is an important argument in this thesis that Drama may lend support and sponsorship to many quarters, we shall now glance briefly at how performed Drama took up the cudgels on behalf of the lower orders, in the anticipation that it may be possible to indicate and analyse repercussions for Further Education.

Two works not far on in time which took decent account of the human worth of the lower social classes were Congreve's The Way of the World (produced in 1700) and John Gay's The Beggar's Opera (produced in 1728). Employing the conventions of a card game as a structural device, The Way of the World is a subtle and socially-grounded commentary on the distinction between false humour and true wit, in which the good sense or

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[1] Paul Harvey (ed.), The Oxford Companion to English Literature, Fourth Edition, Oxford, Clarendon, 1967, p. 682.

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[1] Paul Harvey (ed.), The Oxford Companion to English Literature, Fourth Edition, Oxford, Clarendon, 1967, p. 682.

comic wit of a servant may achieve an aesthetically-revolutionary triumph over the idiocy of his master. In the 'Dedication' to the play, Congreve attacks earlier portrayals of comic low-life:

> Those characters which are meant to be ridiculous in most of our comedies are of fools so gross, that in my humble opinion they should rather disturb than divert the well-natured and reflecting part of an audience; they are rather objects of charity than contempt; and instead of moving our mirth, they ought very often to excite our compassion.[1]

In the following extract, the maidservant Foible attracts admiration for her sophisticated wit, which is directed against the ageing aristocrat, Lady Wishfort:

Foible:	Your ladyship has frowned a little too rashly indeed, madam. There are some cracks discernible in the white varnish.
Lady Wishfort:	Let me see the glass. Cracks, sayest thou? Why, I am arrantly flayed! I look like an old peeled wall! Thou must repair me Foible, before Sir Rowland comes, or I shall never keep up to my picture.
Foible:	I warrant you, madam. A little art once made your picture like you; and now a little of the same art must make you like your picture. Your picture must sit for you madam.[2]

Similarly, The Beggars' Opera is significant not only for its innovative form and contemporary setting, but also for a blending of romantic and anti-romantic elements into a dramatic whole in its portrayal of the London underworld, which is shown to possess its own integrity, remote from the values of the ruling group. Its depiction of the emerging urban proletariat is unsentimental; when Lucy and Polly quarrel over Macheath, sympathy is with the human predicament, rather than with making the artificial judgements of one class upon another:

Lucy:	Art thou then married to another? Hast thou two wives, monster?
Macheath:	If woman's tongues can cease for an answer, hear me.

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1 William Congreve, The Way of the World, London: New Mermaid Edition, 1971, Dedication, pp. 3-4.

2 ibid. III, pp. 128-136.

Lucy: I won't. Flesh and Blood can't bear my usage.
Polly: Shall I not claim my own. Justice bids me speak.
Macheath: How happy could I be with either, Were t'other dear charmer away! But while you thus tease me together To neither a word will I say.[1]

There seems to be an interesting parallel between the way in which performed Drama raised levels of consciousness on behalf of the lower social classes, and the way in which middle-class groups began philanthropic provision of 'Further' Education for the working-classes. Neo-Marxist analysis would suggest that this phenomenon might best be interpreted as a 'reshuffling' of class co-ordinates as the newly stabilized middle-classes sought to impose their own values on subordinate cultural groups, offering as Williams has noted

> as absolute virtues the sanctity of marriage, the life of the family and care of the weak.[2]

We should also note that, although there were earlier 'self-help' attempts at Post-School education by the working-classes acting on their own behalf, such as the Spitalfields Mathematical Society,

> under whose auspices artisans, especially weavers, and shopkeepers were to be found, as early as 1717, meeting on a Saturday evening and patiently working out problems on their slates,[3]

these did not develop into a wide-scale movement until they attracted middle-class support:

> there were also large numbers of men and women who were moved by religious, philanthropic, and humanitarian impulses to improve the state of society.[4]

We have noted already the place in the historical record given to the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, founded in 1698 in order to

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1 John Gay, 'The Beggar's Opera', in The Beggar's Opera and Polly, London, Chapman and Dodd, 1923, pp. 1-100.
2 Williams, The Long Revolution, p. 285.
3 Tylecote, p. 2.
4 H.J. Edwards, The Evening Institute, London: National Institute of Adult Education, 1961, p. 13.

> combat the barbarous ignorance in the poor... By 1711 the Society was organizing night schools for adults.[1]

The Sunday School Movement and the Adult School Movement offer further examples of a widespread philanthropic concern for the working-classes.

It is now necessary to consider the Mechanics' Institutes, which are widely-recognised as the most significant forerunners of Further Education. The Institutes quickly evolved a distinctive but restricted view of Drama, but one they were unable to sustain in the face of popular demand.

3. The Mechanics' Institutes and Drama

The first Mechanics' Institute was the London Mechanics' Institute of 1823.[2] The basic format of the programme was the evening lecture or lecture-demonstration, and this specified method of delivery was itself one of the 'rules' of the Institute.[3] The content of study was strictly monitored, both in London and the provinces. Library catalogues of Institutes during the period 1824-1830 record few works of fiction or play texts. Uttoxeter, Walsall and Hanley, for example, initially banned fiction from their shelves.[4] Sheffield Institute went further and, according to Tylecote, 'the works of Shakespeare were cast out and sold by auction.'[5] It is safe to interpret the highly restricted instrumental content and the intensely formal teaching methods as an extension of the philosophy which governed the purposes of working-class schooling in

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1 ibid., p. 14.
2 Edwards, p. 22.
3 ibid.
4 C.M. Turner, 'The Development of Mechanics' Institutes in Warwickshire, Worcestershire and Staffordshire, 1825-1890: A Regional Study', Unpublished M.Ed. Thesis, University of Leicester, 1966, p. 86.
5 Tylecote, p. 109.

general, which was to confirm lower-class status in the cultural hierarchy.[1] But unlike children who had no choice but to accept what Purvis calls the 'daily grind'[2] of working-class schooling methods, members of the artisan class were able to express preferences; as Edwards notes:

> the interests of the members turned increasingly to general rather than technical knowledge, to social gatherings, relaxation and entertainment.[3]

Edwards, like other commentators, attributed the failure of the lecture system and speedy disillusionment with the vocational subject-matter of the Institutes to the alleged educational inadequacies of the members.[4] This interpretation shifts the 'blame' to the shoulders of the working-classes, perpetuating the myth of cultural inadequacy.[5] It was an inaccurate as well as a partial view since most available evidence suggests that membership of the Mechanics' Institutes was largely confined to the skilled artisan group, who possessed at least basic literacy and numeracy.[6] As Tylecote argues:

> a grave miscalculation made by the pioneers of Mechanics' Institutes was the assumption that the working man was closely interested in receiving instruction related to his trade. This, he passively indicated, was not the case. Both in the classroom and in the library, he showed that his interests in his leisure time lay elsewhere.[7]

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1 Jane Purvis, 'The Experience of Schooling for Working-Class Boys and Girls in Nineteenth Century England' in Ivor F. Goodson and Stephen J. Ball Defining The Curriculum: Histories and Ethnographies, The Falmer Press, Lewes, 1984, pp. 89-116, p. 90.
2 ibid., p. 112.
3 Edwards, p. 23.
4 ibid.
5 Basil Bernstein, 'Education cannot Compensate for Society', in B.R. Cosin, I.R. Dale, G.M. Esland, D.F. Swift, School and Society: A Sociological Reader, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1974, pp. 61-66, p. 64.
6 Turner, The Development of Mechanics' Institutes, pp. 80-86.
7 Tylecote, p. 107.

In this bifurcation of attributed and actual aspiration, we may discern the beginnings of voiced working-class disillusionment with the forms and functions of the education provided for them, albeit paternalistic and benevolent, by higher social groups. Interestingly, from the standpoint of this thesis, demands for expressive experiences, including Drama, by the working-class membership drew coercive measures from moral entrepreneurs policing the boundaries of what can now be regarded as a fully fledged system of knowledge control.[1] The Governing Bodies of many Mechanics' Institutes banned any pedagogical innovations which hinted suspiciously of Drama. At Manchester Institute, for example, the Governors sought to prevent its instructors becoming half actors and half lecturers.[2] 'The Directors and Governers of the Mechanics' Institutes clearly perceived Drama as both indulgent and dangerous in the wider social framework, for when 'actual representation of plays'[3] began to infiltrate into lectures, they warned against encouraging a 'taste and desire for the unhallowed pleasures of the Theatre'.[4] But the working-class members did not share the fears of their 'betters', and their enthusiasm for Drama became so great that a formal Minute had to be issued in 1839, warning them that

> Theatrical Representations (are) incompatible with the objects of Mechanics' Institutions, and the Principles under which they seek public support.[5]

Interestingly, we see that deprived of a free legitimate expression of the dramatic impulse, members (and probably teachers) were seeking

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1 Antonio Gramsci, cited in Femia, Gramsci's Political Thought, p. 47.
2 Quoted in Tylecote, p. 151.
3 Quoted in Tylecote, p. 151.
4 ibid., p. 151.
5 ibid., p. 151.

alternative routes. In 1840, for example, we find the elocution class being warned by the Directors

> that pieces (should) only be recited out of scenes taken from Hamlet.[1]

This urge to press against the limits defined by the contemporaneous ruling group is echoed in the analysis of Drama in the contemporary curriculum of Further Education.

Manchester was not the only Institute in which the members explored Drama against the wishes of the governing bodies. The infiltration of the system was often achieved through a re-direction and appropriation of other classes, for example by diverting elocution, essay or debate classes. Typical of this ploy was the 'Essay and Discussion' class at Stockport Mechanics' Institute, which, after three nights of debate, declared firmly that dramatic representations were

> calculated to improve the taste and moral habits of the nation.[2]

At other Institutes, including Wolverhampton, West Bromwich, Fenton and Longport, there is evidence of considerable dramatic activity which generally brought 'severe criticism'[3] from Governors who were themselves usually of middle-class status.

The severity of criticism aimed against activities associated with Drama, however, gradually decreased after about 1840. We even find an increasing note of pride creeping into reports about dramatic activities, as the following extracts reveal:

> It was a red-letter day in the history of the Institution when Macready came and gave a reading of Macbeth. Immense enthusiasm was aroused and a handsome addition made to the funds.[4]

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1 Manchester Mechanics' Institute, Minute Book, 2nd January, 1840.
2 Stockport Mechanics' Institute, Annual Report, 1844, p. 9, in Tylecote, p. 151.
3 Turner, p. 86.
4 Quoted in Tylecote, p. 151.

> The institution made a profit on a reading of As You Like It, by Charles Kemble.[1]
>
> In Stourbridge, Uttoxeter, and Kidderminster, in 1864, over 1,000 people gathered to hear the Penny Reading.[2]
>
> Organized by the members as a whole, there was a 'Lord of Misrule', who, with his assistants, entertained the company with the spectacle of St George and The Dragon, the various characters being in full costume. In the following year of 1840, nearly 500 members and friends of the Institution were present, including both ladies and gentlemen. In January 1847, the revellers numbered eighteen hundred... About forty members of the Institution took part in the mumming... The preparations for the pageant were elaborate but were said to involve little expense and to occupy only a week. Handsome profits were made.[3]

It does not seem likely that 'official' perceptions of Drama could have changed so acutely in such a short space of time, so we need to be alert to the possibility of alternative explanation. One clue may lie in the changing social status of the membership of Mechanics' Institutes. Turner suggests that by 1850

> there is the suspicion that working-class interests were being sold down the river.[4]

Turner cites in support of his contention the increase in middle-class membership of the Institutes. If we relate this phenomenon to the basic argument of this thesis, we can say that by the mid nineteenth century the middle-classes were themselves vital constituents of the economically-oriented cultural hierarchy and could, therefore, be culturally 'trusted' with expressive experimentation. A shift of style accompanied the blunting of the radical edges of the Institutes:

> It was their social significance which was increasingly emphasized; and it was at meeting places, centres of information and sources of relaxation and recreation that they came to be most highly regarded'.[5]

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1 Stockport Mechanics' Institute, Annual Report, 1845, p. 9.
2 Turner, p. 131.
3 Tylecote, p. 175.
4 Turner, p. 80.
5 Tylecote, p. 175.

Membership statistics from this time confirm the middle-class 'takeover'. By 1850, Sheffield Institute was composed of 88% professional or business membership[1]; Birmingham Institute was replaced by an Arts Institute in 1853;[2] London Mechanics' Institute was to form the foundation for Birkbeck College.[3]

We now need to examine briefly how and why the Mechanics' Institutes, whose increasingly successful associations with Drama had been originally generated through working-class demand, became 'exclusion zones' for the working-classes.

The Great Exhibition of 1851 had underlined Great Britain's urgent need for technical instruction of the working-classes on utilitarian and instrumental grounds for the reinforcement of the economy.[4] The ruling group could no longer depend on voluntary or self-help initiatives to secure specialist education for the working-classes, since such initiatives had proved both piecemeal and unpredictable. Capitalist expansion required formal instruction for the workplace, but without the risk of hierarchical digression or challenge. The foundation of Technical Schools represents a regression to coercive policies resulting in the tight imposition of a narrowly technical and vocational curriculum on the working-classes.[5] The foundation of the Science and Art Department in 1852 was the first formal step in government provision of Post-School education,[6] and we can argue that this was a deliberate device for ensuring social control. The advent of State provision of Post-School

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1 Michael Sanderson, Education, Economic Change and Society in England, 1780-1870, London: Economic History Society, 1983, pp. 28-29.
2 Turner, p. 69.
3 S.J. Curtis, and M.Boultwood, History of English Education Since 1800, London: University Tutorial Press, 1960, p. 320.
4 Kelly, p. 197.
5 Edwards, p. 24.
6 George C.T. Bartley, Schools for the People, London: Bell 1871, p. 415.

education for all practical purposes removed the need for independent philanthropic or self-help initiatives, and 'coincidentally' curbed the growth of what Gramsci called 'counter-hegemonic' views.[1] According to Lowndes, the curriculum of the evening Continuation Schools and the Technical Institutions became 'rigid and stiff'.[2] Both the pedagogic methods and the implicit epistemology of the Continuation Schools and Institutions of Technical Instruction were closely linked to the instrumental needs of an increasingly industrialized society. Grants were confined to 'three R's' teaching in the Continuation Schools, while subjects were strictly related to trade commerce and industry in the Technical Institutions.[3]

4. Drama and the Urban Proletariat

Just as the Mechanics' Institutes had undergone a crisis of identity related to class and to the world of works State provision of Post-School education seemed unacceptably coercive in its concentration upon learning for the work-place. Any alternative expression continued to be met by the voluntary agencies, many of which had co-existed with the Mechanics' Institutes. Most of these were united in a common aim of providing non-vocational education, with a strong emphasis on identifying social concerns and issues.[4] Typical of the aims of the voluntary bodies were those espoused by the Co-operative movement:

> Cooperators were, in fact, the one working-class body which continuously and persistently stood for a humane education as an essential element in the social aims of democracy.[5]

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1 Femia, Gramsci's Political Thought, p. 52.
2 G.A.N. Lowndes, The Silent Social Revolution, London, O.U.P., 1937, p. 339.
3 P.F.R. Venables, Technical Education, London, G. Bell, 1956, pp. 21-22.
4 Ministry of Reconstruction, Report, 1919, p. 30.
5 ibid.

A similar 'liberal' orientation also characterized the work of such diverse bodies as the People's Colleges, Working Men's Colleges, the Adult School Movement of the Society of Friends, and the University Extension Movement.[1] The voluntary movements clearly took up an ideological position which did not regard the working-classes as unquestioningly compliant to the prevailing dominant order. Both the Department of Education and the Department of Science and Art offered a prescribed and limited set of vocational syllabuses, all of which were governed by strict examination procedures,[2] whilst the voluntary movements, on the other hand, according to Parry, were promoting a consciousness that distinguished between 'the means of livelihood' and 'the means of life'.[3] In 1919, Dobbs described the direction in which voluntary Post-School education had been moving as early as the 1880s:

> It was necessary that education should start with the problem of social reconstruction and should be grounded on a deeper and more spiritual analysis than had underlain earlier movements. The new ideal was not information but the enrichment of personality.[4]

The 'means of life' and the 'enrichment of personality' were expressed tangibly through the involvement of Drama with the voluntary agencies of Post-School education, so that the association effectively became public 'partnership', described in the Ministry of Reconstruction's Final Report of 1919. The Report makes it clear that the openly expressive nature of the arts in working class Post-School Education was not in harmony with conventional hierarchical views of 'appropriateness[5]

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1 Edwards, pp. 49-50.
2 C.A. Horn and P.L.R. Horn, 'Payment by Results and Technical Instruction', JFHE, Spring 1981, pp. 30-39.
3 R.St J. Parry, Cambridge Essays on Adult Education, Cambridge: C.U.P., 1920, p. 17.
4 A.E. Dobbs, Education and Social Movements: 1700-1850, London, Longmans Green and Co., 1919, p. 184.
5 Ministry of Reconstruction, p. 241.

Alarmed at the apparent growth of non-vocational Post-School Education beyond its jurisdiction, the Board of Education attempted to take over control,[1] and issued Regulations for Technical Schools which stipulated a narrow and highly instrumental curriculum,

> intended to prepare pupils either for artisan or other industrial employment or for domestic employment.[2]

But The Board of Education proved unable to gain the total dominance to which it aspired, since finances did not allow for such a widespread re-distribution of resources.[3] It is possible to argue, therefore, that attempts to marginalise Drama were shifted in style from coerciveness to accommodation in the early years of Post School Education.

Interestingly, Drama appears to have triumphed in the first round, for we see the sector of Post-School Education recognising the value of Drama by producing the first official publication acknowledging Drama in any sector of Education. In its Report of 1926, Drama is represented as pivotal to the effectiveness of 'Further' Education[4]; this crossing of the symbolic boundary had potentially volcanic significance for all other forms of schooling.[5] The advantages gained in the 'first round' of the contest, however, were shortly to be of little effect as the 'dominant' power groups responded by further attempts to limit and contain the revived 'threat'. By the time of the Hadow report,[6] coercion could be eased, and the Report's patronizing view of 'tamed' Drama could be taken

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1 Board of Education, Draft of Proposed Revised Regulations for Continuation, Technical and Art Schools in England and Wales, H.M.S.O., 1917.
2 Board of Education, Report for 1912-1913, H.M.S.O., 1913, p. 124.
3 Board of Education, Circular 1231, HMSO., 1921.
4 Board of Education, Report: The Drama in Adult Education, H.M.S.O., 1926, p. 4.
5 ibid., pp. 1-24.
6 Board of Education, Report of the Consultative Committee on the Education of the Adolescent: (Hadow Report), London, H.M.S.O., 1926.

as an attempt to assert the consensual view that was hopefully emerging. We next turn to the Theatre, which was at that time demonstrating a fluctuating, although at times ill-informed, regard for the working-classes, whose plight could not be overlooked. In spite of relative financial gains, the conditions for many workers remained appalling.[1] The health of urban workers was particularly poor, and their housing atrocious, as a pamphlet of 1883 The Bitter Cry of Outcast London reveals:

> Even when it is possible to do so, the people seldom open their windows, but if they did it is questionable whether much would be gained, for the external air is scarcely less heavily charged with poison than the atmosphere within.[2]

Social conditions were by then attracting increasing comment and political challenge, not least through the organization of labour. The growth of the unskilled labour force, however, was perceived as a threat by the established unions, and there was considerable friction between 'new' and 'old' unionism. Performed Drama did not initially reflect these complex tensions and the portrayal of the working-classes, according to Nicoll, veered between sentimentality and melodrama.[3] Superficially at least, Drama appeared to be once again the tool of a complacent middle-class, and seemed unable to confront cultural inequalities directly. There is strength, however, in Smith's suggestion that a 'romantic' portrayal of the working-classes may have been deployed to disguise a fear that working class compliance to the dominant order would not willingly be forthcoming:

> Melodrama brought moral and emotional insecurities under strict control.[4]

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1 Trevor May, The Economy 1815-1914, London, Collins, 1972, p. 194.
2 The Rev. Charles Mearns, The Bitter Cry of Outcast London, 1883, quoted in May, p. 194.
3 Allardyce Nicoll, British Drama, 1925, revised 1962, London, Harrap, pp. 200-246.
4 James Smith (ed.), Victorian Melodramas, New Jersey, Rowman, 1976, viii.

Sentimentalism, in this account, provided a comfortable mask behind which ugly social truths could be hidden. Once the mask was stripped away by articulate spokesmen acting on behalf of the lower orders, then dramatic representation could potentially become a powerful counter-hegemonic voice acting on behalf of subordinate groups:

> Attention must therefore be directed to the inner redoubt of civil society, to the dissemination of radical ideas about man and society - in short, to the creation of a proletarian counter-hegemony.[1]

James Albery's Two Roses, (1870) was more typical, however, of the mawkish attitudes displayed in much performed Drama, glorifying and romanticising the sewing machine at the expense of its operators:

> (Jenkins saunters down to them looking admiringly at the sewing machine as Wyatt stitches the pieces together, Lotty laughing at his awkward way of doing it.)
>
> Jenkins: Pretty thing a sewing machine.
> Wyatt: I protest to thee, Our Mr Jenkins, that this is an epitome of this world's history... In a thousand workrooms this little machine is singing a history that goes far deeper than is recorded by Clarendon and Macaulay.[2]

Similarly, Sydney Grundy's A Pair of Spectacles (1890) demonstrated a similar marked ignorance of the real plight of the working classes:

> Bart.: Thank you kindly, sir. As for the rent -
> Gold.: We will let that stand over.
> Bart.: With my eldest son out of a situation -
> Mrs Gold.: Yes, yes; you've told us so.
> Bart.: And a child down with measles -
> Gold.: Measles? You said whooping cough.
> Bart.: I mean the whooping cough. And trade so bad -
> Gold.: (aside to him) Make me another pair of boots - two pairs - but don't say anything to Mrs Goldfinch.
> Bart.: (suddenly cheerful) Thank you, sir. Good morning.
> Gold.: Good morning, Bartholomew.
> Bart.: Three pairs.
> Both: Good morning.

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1 Femia, Gramsci's Political thought, p. 52.
2 James Albery, 'Two Roses', (1870), in George Rowell (ed.), Nineteenth Century Plays, O.U.P., 1972, pp. 409-465.

Gold.: Poor fellow! I'm so glad I haven't raised his rent.

Mrs Gold.: As he pays none at all, it comes to the same thing.[1]

In this play, as the extract suggests, the social problems of poverty, unemployment, disease and slum dwellings were trivialized beneath the pompous and sentimental characterization of the landlord, Benjamin Goldfinch, and the dishonest cunning of the bootmaker, Bartholomew. The bathos in Mrs Goldfinch's final remark suggests that Bartholomew's personal and social problems are as much a part of his 'imagination' as his payment of rent, and consequently only deserving of derisive laughter from an essentially middle class audience.

Before the working and lower middle classes could fully use their literacy, there had to be a demythologising of such sentimental accounts, which, as suggested above, was likely to come from higher social groups acting on their 'behalf'. But the 'enlightened' middle classes, even when acting on behalf of subordinate social groups, were themselves inescapably bound into a rigid social hierarchy. Shapin and Barnes have argued that such inter-group sponsorship of educational ideals was inevitably divisive; when the middle classes referred to

> 'artisans', or to 'operatives', or 'mechanics', they did not mean to refer to the 'working-classes' as an entirety. Rather, they were pointing to occupational sub-categories which to them possessed 'known' attributes - economic, social, and moral and intellectual. They had it in mind to provide an educational regimen for these sub-groups only, and not for 'the working-classes' as a whole.[2]

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1 Sydney Grundy, 'A Pair of Spectacles', (1890), in Rowell, pp. 506-567, pp. 513-514.

2 Steven Shapin and Barry Barnes, 'Science, Nature and Control: Interpreting Mechanics' Institutes', in R. Dale, G. Esland, M. Mc Donald (eds.) Schooling and Capitalism: A Sociological Reader, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1976, pp. 55-65, p. 55.

If we follow neo-Marxist lines of argument, then it seems likely that middle class support for working class expressive realization would have been patronisingly judgemental, a paternalistic assertion of 'what is good for them' and, therefore, to some extent reproductive of the status quo.

Certainly the foundation of the Old Vic Theatre in 1880 by Emma Cons echoed these paternalistic sentiments. Kelly describes the Theatre previously on the site as

> at that time given over to melodrama of the lowest description and haunted by thieves and prostitutes,[1]

But under Cons' direction, a working class Theatre evolved which was to some extent responsive to the social conditions of the poor.[2] The Report The Drama in Adult Education (1926) endorses the policy that

> the best possible entertainment should be given to the people at the lowest possible prices... The audience was in the main working-class, shop people, artisans and labourers; some of the richer class were coming to the theatre now, but she did not want too many of them to the exclusion of the poorer people.[3]

We next consider the extent to which the expressive ideology of voluntary provision infiltrated official accounts. In Dover Wilson's Educational Pamphlet, itself coming out of the contemporary literary establishment, Drama is recommended for its humanizing effects,[4] although the propositions presented are not necessarily radical. George Bernard Shaw was a particularly significant dramatist and social critic at this time since his views presupposed a conscious need for the working classes to experience the 'new' Drama. In Widower's Houses (1892), for example,

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1 Kelly, p. 193.
2 But note Alfred Doolittle's caricature of the undeserving poor in Pygmalion. See, G.B. Shaw, Pygmalion (1920), Constable and Co. London, 1938, p. 230.
3 The Drama in Adult Education, pp. 32-34.
4 Board of Education, Educational Pamphlet No 43, Humanism in the Continuation School, H.M.S.O., 1921.

he attacked the living conditions of the working classes. Six years later in Mrs Warren's Profession, he exposed the evils of prostitution. Both plays, according to Nicoll, de-sentimentalized the life-style of the poor.[1] Although Pygmalion must remain the touchstone for the inappropriateness and inadequacy of middle-class intervention in working-class education, Shaw was also an active participant in the development of The Workers' Educational Association, itself to become a genuinely 'alternative' channel for working-class education.[2] Alongside this, Drama increasingly influenced the development of voluntary Further Education. As Kelly notes, the Old Vic and Morley College specifically repudiated any correspondence between instrumental educational provision and particular vocational settings:

> Subjects of knowledge should not be directly connected with or applied to any handicraft trade or business'.[3]

The Drama in Adult Education recorded extensive collaboration between the Old Vic, Morley College and London County Councils' Training colleges and Elementary Schools in an attempt to establish Drama

> as an integral part of ... school education.[4]

Yet these statements were patently at odds with the espoused 'philosophy' of State provision, which continued to emphasize the need for a practical utilitarian education for the working classes. As the Hadow Report detailed:

> Managers should be representative ... of different professions and persons concerned with commerce, industry or agriculture.[5]

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1 Nicoll, British Drama, p. 280.
2 Workers Educational Association, Handbook: 1918, W.E.A., London, 1918, Preface.
3 Kelly, p. 194.
4 The Drama in Adult Education, p. 33.
5 The Education of the Adolescent, p. 171.

Yet the Parliamentary Bills of 1905, 1906 and 1907, which sought to make some form of Continuing Education official and compulsory, largely failed, according to Lowndes,[1] a shortfall attributed by Edwards to passive resistance.[2] Edwards argues that the narrow official curriculum 'failed to interest'[3] the majority of the working classes who were seeking a more flexible pedagogy than one so closely tied to a vocational setting, towards which, we may conjecture, there already existed a degree of alienation. Additionally, we must take into account the popular perceptions associated with non-specialist occupations. This neatly reverses contemporary working class perceptions of specialist vocational training as unlikely to lead to a job.

If we next turn to an examination of the developing milieux of Further Education, we see an emerging antithesis between the relatively closed conditions of what we are terming a transparent milieu, and the contrasting relatively open conditions of an opaque milieu. One question we need to address is whether Drama had any place in the justificatory frameworks of a transparently instrumental provision, or whether the penetration of Drama into the academic establishment, facilitated by the influence of voluntary provision and later the University Tutorial movement,[4] itself represents a degree of unfreezing towards more liberal perceptions of curriculum and the place of expressive subjects within it. The critical issue is whether Drama was admitted with its expressive potential intact, or had somehow become 'diluted' in the process of

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1 Lowndes, p. 192.
2 Edwards, p. 76.
3 Edwards, p. 76.
4 For example, the University of Birmingham supported academic Drama during the period 1912-1925, much of which was carried out by the Extra Mural Department and the L.E.A.; see The Drama in Adult Education, Para. 211, p. 89.

transfer. The influence brought to bear upon established academic assumptions was extensive. For example, the foundation of the British Drama League in 1919 owed a great deal to the prolific nature and characteristics of rural Drama,[1] and it was the new validity of rural Drama, encompassing as it did the dialects of East Anglia, Wessex and Wales,[2] which allowed a re-appraisal of spoken English away from previously-held dogmas of 'correctness' towards historical and cultural perspectives.[3]

The Report of 1926 recorded the poignant plight of aspiring working-class students who had become 'afraid of their own voices',[4] Drama, it was thought, might help:

> By the close study of the Wessex novels with their wealth of characterisation and social manners, the Players not only help to preserve a rich and philosophically interesting dialect that may, under modern conditions of life, all too quickly disappear, but they also awaken in their audiences an interest in local history and literature, and encourage the study of what William Barnes, the Dorchester poet, so admirably termed, speech craft.[5]

The same idea was taken up by Dover Wilson in Humanism in the Continuation School:

> But it is not merely idle for the teacher to combat dialect forms, it is wrong. Dialect of one kind or another is the native speech of the vast majority of the working-classes of this country, while 'Standard English' is a foreign tongue. The former is intimate, steeped in memories and emotion, racy, of the soil, full of expressions which are 'untranslateable' - the language of the fireside, the mother's knee, the lover's courtship. The other seems to be a thing imposed from without, a Speech of gentlemen, polished, flavourless, constraining. If it is to be one of the principal aims of the humanistic teacher in the continuation School to foster the growth of local culture, he must not shut the door against dialect.[6]

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1 The Drama in Adult Education, pp. 298-348.
2 ibid., pp. 298-348
3 ibid., Para. 308.
4 Edwards, p. 33.
5 The Drama in Adult Education, Para. 308.
6 Humanism in the Continuation School, p. 91.

In line with our initial analysis, it was no surprise to find Drama during this period welcomed by the dominant group on a number of tacit conditions. Although offering expressive formats for working class experience, this aspect was largely ignored by those who admitted Drama to the Post School curriculum, who preferred to view it manipulatively as an opportunity for 'remedial' social action. This attitude was wide-spread in the inter-war years, as the 1926 Report recorded,[1] and re-settlement establishments were instituted after the First World War to offer personal, social and educational support to the working classes. Yet expressive as well as instrumental forms of Drama infiltrated the settlements, in spite of their official statement of mission 'for the realisation and appreciation of life'.[2] Boys' Clubs and the YMCA also used dramatic work 'as a regular feature in the educational activities.'[3] Even the prison service, by then, was developing links with Continuing Education.[4] There were experiments with Drama which drew approval from official quarters. A development at Walton Gaol was described with some wit in The Drama in Adult Education:

> We are glad to hear that As You Like It was a great success, notwithstanding the fact that the wrestling match could not be carried through. The Merchant of Venice which followed, appears also to have been a success, and 'The Quality of Mercy is not Strained' to have gone down very well; but I was unable to permit a discussion initiated by a solicitor on the difference between law and justice with particular reference to his own trial.[5]

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1 The Drama in Adult Education, Para 182.
2 ibid., Para. 188.
3 ibid., Para. 209, p. 88.
4 Home Office, H.M. Commissioners of Prisons, Annual Report: 1929, London, H.M.S.O., 1929. Appendix I.
5 The Drama in Adult Education, pp. 113-115.

Although the humour must have been conscious, the incongruity probably goes deeper, since it is reasonable to infer that the prisoners were using the capacity of theatre to vivify questions of pressing personal and contemporary relevance.

Lena Ashwell's players proved themselves usefully compliant to the requirements of a strong hegemony during the First World War, where Drama was used both to entertain and indoctrinate the fighting troops,[1] Drama also had a place in Military[2] and Naval[3] training during the inter-war years, but it is safe to assume that the expressive potential of Drama was not allowed to develop to the point where it posed any kind of threat to military order and discipline. In performed Drama of this period we encounter the phenomenon that the working classes do not necessarily conform willingly to the coerciveness of the status quo. In a small but significant example of counter-hegemonic challenge, we see subordinate groups questioning the models of appropriateness, over matters of accent or education, laid down by their 'betters'. Shaw in Man and Superman depicts the conflict as arising directly from working class access to Further Education:

> Tanner: This man makes more trouble to drop his aitches than ever his father did to pick them up. It's a mark of caste to him. I have never met anybody more swollen with the pride of class than Enry is.
> Straker: Easy, Easy! A little moderation, Mr Tanner.
> Tanner: A little moderation, Tavy, you observe. You would tell me to draw it mild. But this chap has been educated. What's more, he knows that we haven't. What was that Board of yours Straker?
> Straker: Sherbrooke Road
> Tanner: Sherbrooke Road! Would any of us say Rugby! Eton! Harrow! in that tone of intellectual snobbery? Sherbrooke Road is a place where boys learn something: Eton is a boy farm where we are sent because we are nuisances at home, and because in after life, whenever

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1 Ministry of Reconstruction, Report, p. 241.
2 War Office, 'Educational Training: Armies of Occupation', Army Order VII, London, 1917, p. 12.
3 Described in Coggin, pp. 194, 198.

a Duke is mentioned, we can claim him as an old school fellow.

Straker: You don't know nothing about it, Mr Tanner. It's not the Board school that does it; it's the Polytechnic.

Tanner: His university, Octavius. Not Oxford, Cambridge, Durham, Dublin or Glasgow. No, Tavy. Regent Street, Chelsea, the Borough - I don't know half their confounded names: these are his universities, not mere shops for selling class imitations like ours. You despise Oxford, Enry, don't you?[1]

Shaw's account is of how class-related education contributed to what counts in the power game: 'we can claim (A Duke) as an old school fellow',[2] has considerable import for this study. The main point of the debate between Straker and Tanner is that 'the Polytechnic' - a non-traditional route for advanced education - becomes a focus for questioning the settled value-assumption of upper-class education: 'Eton is a boy farm'.[3] Shaw pulls into the frame the real 'worth' of elite institutions: 'mere shops for selling class imitations'. By way of contrast, the non-traditional route of advanced education is portrayed as producing a socially aware end-product with sufficient insight into the operation of cultural mechanisms to argue from a base of genuine knowledge: 'Don't start him on political economy. He knows all about that, and we don't'.[4]

This section has suggested that the perceptions developed by playwrights, performers and audiences were in some ideological tension with prevailing orthodoxies, particularly in so far as they dealt with issues of social inequality, cultural subordination and access to education. As a subject upon the perimeter, Drama allowed a broader awareness of social conditions to infiltrate Post School education. This expressive opportunity, however, started out as an alternative

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1 G.B. Shaw, 'Man and Superman' in Six Plays, Constable, London, 1962, pp. 75-238 and pp 120-121.
2 ibid.
3 ibid.
4 ibid.

interpretation of the broad trend, which persistently and continuously emphasized the need for specialist skills training to support the increasingly complex foundations of economic life. Nevertheless, Drama retained some capacity to generate counter-hegemonic challenge through expressive realization which queried the legitimacy of some of the basic assumptions held by the dominant group itself. Again in general, the dominant group remained untroubled, and 'managed' the potentially dissident voices by a combination of practical sanctions that were mildly coercive in nature, and the capacity to 'transmute' experience by a trick through which a culture weakens and disenfranchises its critics by accommodating potentially dissident voices. This capacity to render potential opposition infertile by a hegemonic saturation of commonsense weakens the radical insights of Drama into penetrations from a fragmented consciousness, rather than allowing them to be the basis of a strong challenge.

In the next section we turn to the growth of notions surrounding 'Liberal' provision in Further Education. The 'Liberal' curriculum, at least rhetorically, appears to assert the value of non-instrumental provision and as such might be considered as a parallel development to Drama, forming a possible basis of challenge to the intrinsic instrumentality of Further Education. But as we shall see, the Further Education establishment was able to mount defensive moves against the emerging 'subject' of 'Liberal Education', which was also to a large extent marginalised or realigned around goals not its own. Yet the fact that colleges could deploy liberal arguments as part of their rhetoric of justification in appropriate circumstances was also significant, although it remained unclear whether this simply masked the dominant instrumentalism, in which case it could be considered largely a ploy, or

whether a genuine unfreezing towards a greater pluralism of provision was taking place. This last point can only be adjudicated by a fine-grain analysis of what was taking place in particular settings.

5. The Liberal Curriculum and Drama

The effect of the 1944 Act upon Further Education has attracted vastly different interpretations. The optimistic liberal reading sees it as the final nail in the coffin of Further Education as an instrinsically instrumental system; henceforth it was to espouse a new and recognised pluralism, with a commitment both to liberal ideals and to vocationally-orientated provision. On the one hand a number of commentators follow Gleeson and Mardle in denying the 'reconstruction'[1] of Further Education's instrumental ideology in this way. They analyse subsequent provision as evidencing a continuation of the Nineteenth Century view that humane proletarian education was needed, not as an instrument of emancipation, but to prepare workers for subordinate social roles. In Webb's account, this preparation for humble functioning is quite explicit:

> We must take even more care to improve the social organism of which we form part, then to perfect our own individual development of each individual is not necessarily the utmost and highest cultivation of his own personality, but the filling, in the best possible way of his humble function in the great social machine.[2]

Nevertheless, Government White Papers and Circulars from 1956 institutionalized the aspiration towards 'Liberal' education by proposing General Studies and Liberal Studies as formal subjects. Following the

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1 Dennis Gleeson and George Mardle, Further Education or Training?: Case Study in the Theory and Practice of Day Release Education, London Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1980, pp. 81-85.

2 Sydney Webb, quoted in Gleeson and Mardle, p. 82.

Crowther Report[1] of 1959, they had near-compulsory status. When we look at the recommended subject matter, however, the liberality of the provision is less clear:

> The local community, national government, the welfare state, current economic problems, discipline and the law ...[2]

The political agenda that might be inferred from this content was aptly summarized by Gleeson and Mardle:

> A large percentage of Liberal Studies was not Liberal Studies at all, but a form of Social Studies devoted to reconciling the student to himself and to his fellows within an established society.[3]

It is a truism of educational provision, however, that teachers are able to put a personal signature on the programme, and there is some evidence to suggest that many individual teachers approached the social and cultural content in a relatively critical way. This latent capacity for challenge was more pronounced when dramatic pedagogies were brought to bear around the newly legitimated subject matter, although once more Drama was not always allowed to realize its expressive potential and at times subordinated itself to goals not its own.

The next major development from the point of view of this thesis was when Liberal Studies and General Studies attempted, through a hard core of radical lecturers to operate as a counter-hegemonic sub-culture, offering a critique of society and even promoting critical awareness of the mechanisms through which cultural consensus might be queried. This resulted in attempts at social control based on labelling 'deviant'

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1 Ministry of Education, 15-18, (Crowther Report), H.M.S.O. 1959, pp. 173-190.

2 Ministry of Education, General Studies in Technical Colleges, H.M.S.O., 1962, p. 4.

3 Gleeson and Mardle, p. 89.

teachers as 'radical' or 'subversive'. By 1978 a stereotype had evolved by which Liberal Studies lecturers, en masse were 'long-haired Marxists.'[1]

A cultural divide emerged, with teachers of instrumental and vocational subjects becoming increasingly prone to make dismissive comments on their 'liberal' colleagues. As Cantor and Roberts put it:

> (Vocational teachers) regard the work being done by their colleagues in Liberal Studies departments with scant sympathy, categorising it as frivolous and unnecessary. Their attitude is inevitably communicated to the students.[2]

An amusing picture of Liberal Studies teaching was painted in Tom Sharpe's Wilt, a 'fictionalized' account of the author's experience as a Liberal Studies lecturer:

> For ten years he had remained in the Liberal Studies Department teaching classes of Gasfitters, Plasterers, Bricklayers and Plumbers. Or keeping them quiet. And for ten long years he had spent his days going from classroom to classroom with two dozen copies of Sons and Lovers, or Orwell's Essays or Candide, or The Lord of the Flies, and had done his damndest to extend the sensibilities of Day-Release Apprentices with noteable lack of success.
> 'Exposure to culture', Mr Morris, the Head of Liberal Studies, called it but from Wilt's point of view it looked more like his own exposure to barbarism, and certainly the experience had undermined the ideals and illusions which had sustained him in his younger days ...
> Gasfitters could go through life wholly impervious to the emotional significance of the interpersonal relationships portrayed in Sons and Lovers, and coarsely amused by D.H.Lawrence's profound insight into the sexual nature of existence.[3]

Sharpe's ironic account is all the more apt because it echoes contemporaneous official publications like General Studies in Technical

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1 Quoted in Murray Rowlands, 'Towards a Survival Skills Curriculum', Association for Liberal Education, Liberal Education, Issue 36, 1978, pp. 27-30.

2 Leonard Cantor and I.F. Roberts, Further Education in England and Wales, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1969, p. 77.

3 Tom Sharpe, Wilt, London, Pan Books, 1978, p. 8.

Colleges.[1] This publication also continued the concern for 'proper' speech first observed in relation to the Mechanics' Institutes:

> The importance of discussion throughout the course cannot be over-emphasised. Its value in developing confidence in speaking is patent; less often appreciated are the many opportunities which it provides for putting right errors in expression. Although this may sometimes take the form of direct correction, it will often emerge more tactfully if the teacher or a fellow student re-formulates an imperfect effort.[2]

Alongside this instrumental views of social conditioning, contemporary Drama was becoming angry and rebellious. Osborne's Look Back in Anger and Behan's The Quare Fellow epitomized the Theatre's attempt to break through the cultural claustrophobia which remained largely unrecognized in the Liberal curriculum.

Although the emergence of Drama and Liberal Studies had potential for powerfully reconstructionist programmes, there was a strong tendency during this period for Drama-based pedagogies to be deployed instrumentally. Teaching manuals, case studies and commentaries in General Studies and Liberal Studies embraced 'role play'[3] with enthusiasm,[4] but it was seen as a motivational device and an opportunity to rehearse class-bound competences rather than as a basis for expressive critique.

Following the emergence of the Association for Liberal Education, Liberal Studies teachers were generally correctly regarded as a pressure group with ideological affiliations to reference groups outside the Further Education sector, with its dominant instrumental and vocational orientation. Gleeson and Mardle describe them as younger, frequently more radical, and pedagogically more open than their subject-bound

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1 General Studies in Technical Colleges.
2 General Studies in Technical Colleges, p. 7.
3 See, for example, G.J. Russell, Teaching in Further Education, London, Pitman, 1972, p. 82.
4 See, for example, D.E.S./A. Bristow, Inside the Colleges of Further Education, London, H.M.S.O., 1970, p. 82.

contemporaries.[1] The popular press, if not the popular imagination, saw them as subverting the 'proper' concerns of proletarian education:

> Radical teachers have been homing in on these 'Liberal Studies' courses and putting all sorts of ideas into the heads of lads who would be best suited to learning a trade.[2]

The capacity of Liberal Studies to underpin a cultural critique was recognised by many individual teachers, and the boldest began to espouse these goals openly:

> I'm concerned with suggesting to the lads ways in which they may be able to play a part in the wider society. Sticking up for themselves, claiming rights ... seeing opportunities that they might not otherwise see, and, more generally, to open the wider aspects of culture to them ... they are deprived of culture, in terms of knowledge and experience ... it's a matter of attempting to broaden these horizons ... I think that might be called the missionary role.[3]

Although the analogy with missionaries can be treated as misleading, the general point and its political stance is quite clear. What is being proposed is counter-hegemonic challenge, a deliberate attempt to subject the infiltrated messages of social and cultural consensus to radical deconstruction. Drama, which had been admitted to Further Education in part as a pedagogical tool, was clearly in a position to contribute to this emerging agenda. Liberal Studies materials increasingly reflected a wide deployment of many of the facets of educational Drama, including 'workshop' methods and student-centred explorations involving role play and simulation.[4]

During the late 1970s there developed external economic conditions that made it harder for College of Further Education hierarchies to hold the line on an ideology of undiluted vocationalism; these circumstances

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1 Gleeson and Mardle, pp. 106-110.
2 Daily Mail, 10 September 1975, p. 6.
3 Gleeson and Mardle, p. 108.
4 John Taylor and Rex Walford, Simulation in the Classroom, Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1972, pp. 172 and 179.

were the collapse of the youth employment market. Unemployment rendered strictly vocational education embarrassingly inappropriate, in a process depicted by Dale as 'levelling down',[1] and the model of appropriateness governing vocationally-orientated 'training' swung behind a notion of general flexible provision and 'transferable' skills. The FEU seminal document A Basis for Choice[2] encapsulates the shift from specific work place skills to 'competence' training, with the accent on flexible non-specialist employability. Programmes emerging under the pressure of events tended to be interdisciplinary in content, eclectic in pedagogy, and committed to early versions of what T.V.E.I. was later to designate 'active learning'. Official documents typify the flavour:

> The programme should be inter-disciplinary in nature, avoiding subject learning and the confines of the classroom.[3]

'Training for unemployment' got close to being defined as a 'new subject', although it would be hard-pressed to fit Goodson's model of how subjects emerge, although the position of Drama continues to reflect the model in that it demonstrated a capacity to grow beyond the circumstances dictating its entry.[4] The trend was not, however, unequivocally towards emancipation, for these same circumstances saw the emergence of the faintly risible 'life skills' approach as a substitute for genuine focussed vocationalism. In 'Life Skills' courses, Drama tended to be defined as role play facilitating 'rehearsal' for possible future roles. At worst it was a purely instrumental role, softening the consciousness

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1 Roger Dale, 'Thatcherism and Education' in John Ahier and Michael Flude (eds), Contemporary Education Policy, Croom Helm, 1983, pp. 223-256, p. 234.
2 F.E.U., A Basis for Choice, London, F.E.U., 1981.
3 F.E.U., ABC in Action, London, F.E.U., 1981, para. 50 iii.
4 Ivor Goodson, 'Subjects for Study: Towards a Social History of the Curriculum', in Ivor F. Goodson and Stephen J. Ball, Defining the Curriculum: Histories and Ethnographies, The Falmer Press, London, 1984, pp. 40-41.

of the 'de-skilled' clients towards vague but subordinate future positions in the cultural hierarchy. Not surprisingly, many Drama tutors were deeply suspicious of these attempts to subsume it under such non-expressive policies. In so far as the emasculated role was established, it indicated hegemonic control around the new, if uneasy consensus. Yet again, however, we see Drama admitted on one definition of the situation, but seeking to establish another, and Drama's natural expressive roots began to nourish alternative agendas.

The time has now perhaps come when we need to compare and contrast the 'natural histories' of both Drama and Liberal Studies in Further Eduation. To what extent do they demonstrate the same forces at work as 'intrinsically instrumental' Further Education seeks to 'manage' potentially threatening subject areas? In particular, are we dealing with potentially counter hegemonic localities, or is the history of their muted opposition more a testimony to the hegemonic infiltration of assumptions that render the opposition token? There have been times when compliance has been achieved coercively, and the deviant subject 'reined back', but these minor flurries may well be exceptions to a general picture of well-established paternalistic control mechanisms that in general operate by consensus, but are not averse on occasion to rap erring knuckles.

In Drama and Liberal Studies we are looking at subjects that have from time to time been treated as potentially subversive, yet their histories reveal subtle differences. Liberal Studies has less opportunity to conceal its role behind a flexible array of differently-conceived facets. Indeed Liberal Studies, unlike Drama, accurately 'mirrors' the stance taken by Further Education on the relevant issues we have discussed; although some room for manoeuvre is present, Liberal

Studies has fewer ploys, fewer alternatives and fewer disguises. It lies closer to the concept of a 'compulsory subject', and its 'service' role is more broadly based, giving Liberal Studies lecturers incomparable insight into a broad spectrum of departmental provisions.[1] Yet isolated incursions apart, Liberal Studies has only patchily and spasmodically been able to establish a radical identity, common-room gossip notwithstanding. One problem, according to Whitty, was that academic pressure on Liberal Studies to base itself on notions of initiation into public forms of knowledge left its political agenda as 'fitting pupils into society as it is'.[2] The dilemma for the Liberal Studies teacher was whether it was possible to repudiate the 'inherited ... high status ... hierarchy of knowledge'.[3] Drama retained a safe fortress in high-status textual studies, to which it could retreat and from which it could expand when a deployment of its more radical facets became politically possible. This differentiation made Liberal Studies more vulnerable to the validation procedures of the examination bodies, a pressure driving it towards politically weak but certificated offering in Civics, Social Studies, Citizenship and General Studies.[4] This development is in line with Whitty's account of 'radical retreat',[5] and points to the existence of various control mechanisms through which Liberal Studies might be contained or checked. Drama, as we have observed, had far greater opportunities to employ covert ploys and to attempt subordination by

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1 See, for example, Ministry of Education, General Studies in Technical Colleages, London, H.M.S.O., 1962.

2 Whitty, Sociology and School Knowledge, p. 153.

3 Martyn Hammersley, 'Making a Vice of Our Virtues: Some Notes on Thoery in Ethnography and History', in I.F. Goodson, S.J. Ball, Defining the Curriculum: Histories and Ethnographies, Falmer Press, Lewes, 1984, pp. 15-24, p. 20.

4 See, for example, Sutton Coldfield College of Further Education, Internal Memo, June 1989.

5 Whitty, Sociology and School Knowledge, p. 171.

infiltration rather than direct challenge. Drama, too, had powerful outside reference groups to which its practitioners in Further Education could appeal. In spite of an overlap in matters of reputation, pedagogy and implicit epistemology, Drama practitioners have been more adept at playing the role of fifth columnists, and they have attracted at times more subtle counter moves than those deployed against Liberal Studies. By contrast, Liberal Studies has from time to time made overt challenge to the instrumental and vocational orders of Further Education, and has been coerced into compliance whenever seeming to get out of hand, with Life Skills training being used as a kind of punishment block. More recently, the vocationalists in Further Education have been arguing that the 'generic skills' should themselves be taught by vocational specialists.

A final point of considerable significance for this study is the extent to which the evolution of Further Education has been accompanied by contradictory positions adopted by the varying providing groups with regard to the educational roles prescribed. The tensions between such agents as the voluntary bodies and the Board of Education, with their relative emphases on a more expressive or a more instrumental form of education for the working classes, demonstrate that the tensions captured in the two-by-two dichotomy have deep roots in the historical development of Further Education.

In the Chapter following, the two-by-two dichotomy is revisited to contribute to a more detailed exploration of the roles of Drama in the contemporary Further Education curriculum. It is anticipated that the antinomies, tensions and ambiguities already noted as attaching to Drama's roles under various cultural conditions, will be reflected and exacerbated in the contemporary setting.

CHAPTER FOUR:

DRAMA IN CONTEMPORARY FURTHER EDUCATION

1. Introduction

This chapter is in three sections. The first section analyses the complex interplay between a number of outside interest groups having some purchase on Further Education. The extent to which an institution pays heed to these outside voices and pressures will partly determine whether its milieu is transparent or opaque, as analysed above as one the crucial distinctions in the two-by-two dichotomy.

The second section elaborates further the roles that might be assumed by Drama or quasi-dramatic activities in Further Education, and considers their operations across six broad curriculum areas. The investigation seeks to determine whether Drama has been able to achieve the status of a counter-hegemonic voice, or whether its potential radicalism has been buried beneath a consensus that has circumscribed and limited its contribution. The central issue is whether the expressive aspects of Drama have been able to challenge the dominant instrumentalism of Further Education.

The third section glances at Further Education provision, and the place of Drama within it, in a single Local Education Authority. The choice of Birmingham allows a city-wide perspective to be constructed as a backcloth to the detailed case study of Sutton Coldfield College of Further Education.

2. Interest Groups around Further Education

Further Education, like post-industrial pluralistic culture itself, is characterized by a multiplicity of interest groups. These have been cogently summarized by Mansell:

> The range ... is immense. It stretches from an overlap with schools, to 'vocational education' from operative through craft technician to graduate and professional qualifications, and postgraduate work. There are many agencies which impact on the curriculum at varying levels; there is no single mode of approach to the design of the whole curriculum in Further Education; sources of curricula may be local, regional or national. The system includes work at all levels in the Humanities and the Sciences, and a vast range of activities for adults.[1]

The range of interest groups directly represented extends from the Institute of Bankers to the Prison system.[2] As Rex argues, even when the apparently diverse interests are themselves constituents of the dominant group, some tension is unavoidable, as subgroups seek to gain recognition or legitimacy for their particular agendas.[3] Mannheim saw the 'equilibrium' of the dominant group as susceptible to this kind of 'reshuffling'[4] without serious threat. If so, there is no necessity to treat the constant minor manoeuvres as undermining significantly the dominant instrumentalism of Further Education, since, in terms of our analysis, they may be interpreted as mere 'shuffles'. On the other hand, particular interest groups may bring in competing assumptions and in some circumstances might render a 'transparent' milieu 'opaque'.

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1 Jack Mansell, Jean Bocock and Paul Bennett, 'Curriculum in Further and Higher Education', in Ian Waitt (ed), College Administration: A Handbook, London, N.A.T.F.H.E., 1980, pp. 451-514, p.451.

2 Home Office, Prison Education, The Government Reply to the First Report from the Education Science and Arts Committee: 1982-1983, H.M.S.O., London, 1984

3 John Rex, Key Problems of Sociological Theory, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul (1961), (1970, p. 129.

4 Karl Mannheim, Ideology and Utopia, (1936), translated by Edward Shils, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1960, (paperback), p.128.

It is also important to remind ourselves that there is room for tactical redefinition at the local level, as liberal educators put their personal signatures on the received agendas:

> A politician or administrator, in an economic frame of mind, might think of education as the means by which a supply of trained manpower is assured. He might think of education in this way and have no regard for the endeavours of educators who might in their turn be impervious to the economist's frame of reference. They might be concerned purely with the development of educated men and women.[1]

Semi-structured interviews with 'policy-determiners' in Further Education including Principals'[2], examiners, moderators and administrative staff of the major examining groups,[3] permanent staff from a Regional Advisory Council,[4] and industrial representatives,[5] suggested that it is possible to identify two distinct clusters of influence, the first comprising those groups exercising some form of direct control over policy, and the second exerting a more indirect influence. These 'indirect' groups include advisory and professional bodies, local employers, minor funding agencies, and relevant facets of the local community.

It may be useful to offer at this point a more detailed account of these 'direct' and indirect' interest groups in order to map the cross-currents through which policy navigates.

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1 P. Hirst and R. Peters, The Logic of Education, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1970, pp. 27-28.

2 Interview with R.Hollyhock, Principal, Sutton Coldfield College of Further Education, 18th November, 1986 and interviews with Dr J. Gardner, Principal, Leigh College and First Chief Examiner, Business and Technician Education Council, June 28th 1987 and November 25th 1987.

3 Interview with Andrew Beck, Senior Examiner (Southern Examining Group) and Senior Moderator (B.T.E.C. First Award) 18 March 1988.

4 Interview with Dr.J.Wheale, West Midlands Regional Advisory Council, 7 January 1987.

5 Interviews with Mr K. Hayzleden, Divisional Training Officer, R.M. Douglas P.L.C., 8 September 1987, 13 January 1988.

a) Direct Interest Groups

i) National Statutory Control

Statutory Control is expressed through Government Acts and the Regulations, Circulars, Reports and Recommendations of Her Majesty's Inspectorate. There has been no major statutory clarification of Further Education since the Education Act of 1944[1], which gave considerable freedom to both the Local Education Authorities and the colleges themselves. As Waitt notes:

> Given the need for the Further Education service to be flexible and responsive to change, and its consumers being over school age, this lack of prescription is both necessary and understandable[2]

Such wide discretionary powers were a necessary, if not sufficient, condition of the emergence of an entrepreneurial spirit in the colleges, although recently the freedoms have been eroded through tighter central financial sanctions.

ii) Curriculum Control Through Financial Control

The most dramatic recent examples of curriculum control in Further Education through financial control are provided by the Manpower Services Commission and the Training Commission. Their stated aims have not only been instrumentally related to manpower requirements, but self-serving, seeking to enhance their own influence and effectiveness:

> to reduce unemployment ... to develop the country's manpower resources ... to help secure for each worker the opportunities needed to achieve a satisfactory working life, to improve the quality of decisions affecting manpower, and to improve the effectiveness of the MSC itself.[3]

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1 D.E.S., Further Education Regulations, 1974, No 1054, H.M.S.O., 1975.
2 Ian Waitt, (ed.) College Administration: A Handbook, National Assocation of Teachers in Further and Higher Education, N.A.T.F.H.E., London, 1980, p. 37.
3 M.S.C., Review and Plan, London, M.S.C., 1977, 'Introduction'.

Centrally-administered training schemes now operate ubiquitously at a variety of levels from schools-linked TVEI courses to skills programmes for industrial operatives. Sponsored courses include craft studies, apprenticeship schemes, re-training programmes, and supervisory and management level training. More recently the MSC has itself been overtaken by Employment Training. This represents a continuing and growing influence over Further Education's response to national training requirements. The Department of Education and Science, it is safe to assume, felt increasingly disadvantaged by the sudden appearance of rival suitors with more effective political and financial power:

> The Department of Education and Science suffers in relation to the MSC in that ... whereas the MSC can fund directly, and thus act as an initiator and innovator, there is currently no guarantee that DES initiatives (since its direct funding opportunities are restricted) can actually be implemented.[1]

The centralization of control implicit in the financial power of the MSC (and its subsequent off-shoots) originally moved one critic to comment:

> It is interesting to note the ascendency of the training lobby in determining central policy. It seems abundantly clear that ... the DES has little control and is frequently by-passed by the Department of Employment and the MSC. The fact that MSC is a quango which operates without parliamentary accountability is fascinating in its ghoulishness.[2]

Much of the current thinly-veiled hostility towards the Employment Training Commission's controlled curricula derives from its perceived emphasis upon 'training' as opposed to education. According to Fowler, MSC-sponsored work has been highly directed to overt forms of cultural reproduction.[3] The teaching guidelines issued from MSC render Wyatt's query the more pertinent:

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1 M.S.C., Review and Plan, London, M.S.C., 1977, p. 486.
2 Graham Fowler, 'What is T.V.E.I.?', Liberal Education, Autumn 1985, pp. 15-17.
3 ibid., p. 16.

> What is happening to the concept of broad liberal education in schools under the threat of utilitarianism introduced by the MSC?[1]

There is also some evidence that YTS, in particular, has fostered a new version of 'vocationalism', aimed at providing

> a less demanding workforce ... the new vocationalism is necessary to reinforce acceptable work attitudes which will withstand lengthy periods without work.[2]

A similar orientation is apparent in 'Restart' materials, which avoid reference to any specific employment opportunities. The language has shifted towards a kind of thin optimism, based on pro-active readiness:

> there is growing evidence that some people's approach to unemployment can be more psychologically healthy than others. There is evidence that people adopting a reactive stance to unemployment, 'waiting for something to happen', suffer more than those who hold a belief that they can exercise some control over the course of their lives and who respond pro-actively to unemployment.[3]

Since 1973, the MSC has wrought a variety of tangible changes throughout Further Education, affecting its traditionally voluntary nature. A potentially coercive, but not entirely visible, network has grown, linking Departments of State like Employment, Health and Social Security and quangos like MSC and ET to the Further Eduation colleges, through various schemes or programmes among which YTS, 'Restart' and 'Access' are the most prominent. This is partly achieved through financial inducements (the new masters have money) but they also contribute to a hardening climate of expectations. Pressure on student 'clients' is achieved via sanctions affecting Supplementary Benefits. The system tries to keep details on the operation of these sanctions out

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1 H. Wyatt, 'T.V.E.I. and All That', cited in Liberal Education, p. 17.
2 T. Newton, 'The Youth Training Scheme: A New Kind of Challenge', Secondary Education Journal, Vol. 15, No. 1, 1985, p. 26.
3 Restart, p. 2.

of the public domain, but limited-circulation memoranda confirm the picture.[1]

Financial sanctions were also employed against the colleges; MSC sponsorship carried the implicit threat that in some circumstances it might be re-directed to private training agencies. It is small wonder that the initial response to MSC intervention showed little enthusiasm, typified in Fowler's dismissal of the MSC as 'heinous ... little else but a narrow, restrictive form of social control'.[2]

For the period immediately after its inception, MSC focussed upon preparatory and supportive employment schemes.[3] Changing economic and financial circumstances, however, rendered this commitment to mass 'employability' blatantly absurd. As Fowler observed, an emerging sub-theme was that the unemployed could be held responsible for their own condition. They needed attitudes, as much as skills, particularly those attitudes

> endemic within the workplace. A very real danger could be a reduction of belief in the protestant work ethic.[4]

A 'deficit model' emerged giving rise to quasi-moralistic exhortations in MSC literature:

> sometimes what is lacking is the motivation on the part of the employer or employee[5]

or

> in general the aim is to develop a social consciousness ... an appreciation of our cultural heritage and traditional values[6]

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1 See for example M.S.C., Memorandum, 391/1, London, M.S.C., April 1986, Paras. 54-55.
2 Fowler, cited in H. Wyatt, p. 17.
3 M.S.C., Young People and Work, (Holland Report), London, M.S.C., 1977.
4 Fowler, 'What is T.V.E.I.?', p. 16.
5 M.S.C., An Open Tech Programme, London, M.S.C., 1981, p. 3.
6 City of Birmingham Education Department, T.V.E.I.: Proposals for Pilot Project, Birmingham, M.S.C., 1983, p. 11.

This transparent strategy led Gleeson to comment that

> YTS represents a political strategy for regulating the aspirations of the unemployed and for controlling youth as a class. YTS confirms the collective fate of the young unemployed; its curricular arrangements are rooted in the personality structure (assumed personal and social inadequacies) of the young unemployed themselves.[1]

There is no doubt at all, in terms of our overall analysis, that MSC and ET have contributed massively to the dominant instrumentality of Further Education, not only in terms of the practices encouraged, but also in terms of the ideological, political and moral veneer it put on the exercise.

iii) Local Statutory Control

National and local control mechanisms are not necessarily in harmonious agreement. Also, local circumstances offer a potential source of diversity and an opportunity for negotiating and bargaining about provision at 'plant' level. As King points out:

> In the local context ... it is the decisions made by the officials of Local Education Authorities and the DES that have effectively created the diversity, if not the confusion.[2]

One aspect of local diversity is the range of provision; Waitt comments on the

> remarkable diversity of provision from authority to authority, in scale of provision, type of establishment and range of available courses therein ... As just one example of the diversity, immediately before local government reorganization, Blackpool provided only one College of Further Education while Bolton, with an almost identical population, provided a College of Education and no less than six FE Colleges.[3]

The rhetoric of partnership masks the routine deployment of various ploys:

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1 Denis Gleeson, 'On the Politics of Youth Training', Educational Review, Vol.36, No.2, 1984, p160.
2 King, School and College, p. 189.
3 Waitt, p. 394.

> the operation of the partnership between central and local government may cause both sides, and colleges too, to indulge in a manoeuvring bordering on the unseemly.[1]

One local example of such a conflict occurred when Birmingham was nearing a crisis of racial tension, culminating in the so-called Handsworth Riots of 1981 and 1985.[2] Bypassing central government funds for education, which had been effectively 'frozen' by rating restrictions, Birmingham applied for Home Office assistance under Section 11 of the Local Government Act 1966, seeking access to

> the only Government finance earmarked directly and exclusively for combatting racial disadvantage.[3]

Birmingham was able to establish multicultural units, pursuing active anti-racist policies in each of its colleges,[4] in spite of initial central government resistance, as noted by the Commission for Racial Equality.[5]

Ideological conflict between central and local government can also result in contradictory emphases upon curriculum structure. As the Association for Liberal Education was able to demonstrate, politically-based objections to the MSC's overt and covert functions of social control could and did result in Local Authority funds being directed away from Youth Training Schemes into Pre-Vocational, Vocational, and General courses which had Department of Education and Science backing.[6] For example, the Certificate for Pre-Vocational Education was perceived as

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1 ibid., p. 45.
2 Gerald Fowler, 'Foreword' to A Second Chance: Further Education in Multi-Racial Areas, London, Community Relations Commission, 1976, p.2.
3 Home Office, The Brixton Disorders: 10-12 April 1981, (Scarman Report) Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1982, p. 171.
4 City of Birmingham, Equal Opportunities and Race Relations: Further and Continuing Education, Birmingham, 1986, Introduction.
5 Commission for Racial Equality, New Equals, C.R.E., No.24, London, 1986, p. 1.
6 A.L.E., A.L.E. National Bulletin, September, 1986, p. 8.

> wider, more liberal...a framework from which institutions could offer a radical approach to courses, staff and student development.[1]

Additionally, Waitt has noted that Local Education Authorities are pragmatically susceptible to influence from pressure groups,[2] including teachers' associations, business concerns, professional associations and student representation.[3]

iv) Advisory Bodies:

These comprise a disparate variety of organizations carrying various levels of moral or professional authority and various degrees of actual influence. At national level, the Further Education Curriculum Review and Development Unit (FEU) was established in 1977 as a Further Education equivalent to the then highly regarded Schools Council. It is independent of, but financed by, the Department of Education and Science, and was established in response to the 1976 initiative on Unified Vocational Preparation,[4] a programme launched by the then Labour government in response to concern about the inadequate training provision for semi-skilled young workers.[5] Almost immediately, the thrust of FEU was deflected towards full time pre-vocational courses, and the Youth Opportunities Programme. One result was the highly influential A Basis for Choice,[6] which prescribed a curriculum structure for school leavers advocating a 'common core' curriculum,[7] the full impact of which we shall consider later. The Times Educational Supplement of November 1979 published an article expressing widespread doubts about the proposed purposes and functions of the integrated curriculum, in which Doe

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1 ibid.
2 Waitt, pp. 394-416, and A.L.E. National Bulletin, p. 8.
3 ibid.
4 F.E.U., Basic Skills, London, F.E.U., (1982) 1984, p. vii.
5 D.E.S., Government Statement on Unified Vocational Preparation, Circular 6/76, H.M.S.O., July 1976.
6 F.E.U., A Basis for Choice, London, F.E.U., 1979, p. 21.
7 ibid.

suggested that the 'choice' of A Basis for Choice could be attached to agents of control, rather than to students or teachers.[1] Although the FEU has no statutory rights over the curriculum of Further Education, it has remained an influential catalyst in the drive for a 'common core' and the integrated curriculum. As we shall see later, the movement towards 'integrated' or 'cross-discipline' courses played a significant part in determining the availability to Drama of a whole variety of legitimate cross-curricular roles.

Regional advisory services to Further Education have existed since 1945,[2] but unlike their national counterpart they have a degree of statutory power. In the words of a contemporary national coordinator, their purpose is to co-ordinate provision across Local Education Authorities, and to ensure that there is neither wasteful duplication nor under-provision of courses in their region. Each region, and thus each RAC, is unique in character, however, so that their means of operation and spheres of influence differ considerably.[3] Through the medium of the Regional Staff Inspector, the Regional Advisory Council reports to the Department of Education and Science on the location and suitability of courses in colleges.[4] The Regional Advisory Council is also responsible to the Local Education Authority. Funding, organization and location of resources are mediated, at a local level, by the RAC. The uneasiness of the position has been recognized by the National Association of Teachers in Further and Higher Education:

> The RACs have attempted to cope with the rapid expansion ... in the last decade, and to rationalize it, against

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1 Bob Doe, 'Mansell may be the core that Whitehall wants', Times Educational Supplement, 23rd November, 1979.
2 D.E.S., Further Education Regulations, 1975, H.M.S.O., 1975.
3 John Wheale, 'Drama and Communication', in Further Education: A Curriculum Map', Unpublished Dissertation for the Degree of M.Ed., University of Warwick, 1986, p. 8.
4 ibid.

> pressures from local authorities and colleges for course approval. The result has been some rather unsavoury horse-trading.[1]

At this point it may be useful to offer a vignette of how local cross-currents affected the presence and operation of Drama in the Further Education colleges. The account is based on supplementary research conducted in 1985 through which we sought to discover and analyse the perceptions of the local Drama advisers.[2] The picture that emerged was a confused one.

Responses revealed that many Drama advisory posts had been left untenanted:

> Mr Kirby left this Authority last July[3] ... Mr Lovegrove has retired and not been replaced.[4] ... Unfortunately Miss Roe has taken early retirement and no replacement appointment has yet been made.[5]

A substantial proportion of Drama advisory positions had been merged with other subject disciplines, or confined to schools-based Drama:

> ... it is a subject which interests me very much and I only wish I had more time to help you directly ... but I am adviser for Drama, only among other subjects (General Adviser: English, Drama and Humanities).[6]

> Unfortunately we are school-based advisers and do not operate at all in the Further Education field in this Authority (Senior Adviser: English, Drama and Multi-Cultural Education).[7]

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1 Waitt, p. 417.

2 In April, 1985, all English Local Education Authority/County Drama Advisers were contacted in an attempt to establish a qualitative rather than a quantitative sense of their involvement in, and perceptions of, Drama in their regional colleges. Subsequent references to their replies will be made under the County or Town of the Adviser's responsibility. The original contacts were made by reference to National Association of Drama Advisers, Directory of Drama Advisers, N.A.D.A., London 1984.

3 Ealing Borough, H Burrows Letter to Writer, 18 April 1985 Hadley House, London W5

4 London Borough of Redbridge, Joanne Blacombe, Letter to Writer, 22 April 1985, Churchfields, South Woodford.

5 Metroplitan Borough of St Helens, N.D. Nelson, Letter to writer 22 April 1985, Century House St Helens.

6 London Borough of Enfield, Geraint Lloyd-Evans Letter to Writer, 17 April 1985, Silver Street, Enfield, Middlesex.

7 County of Avon, Iain Ball, Letter to Writer, 17 April 1985, Avon House North, Bristol.

One common theme was the absence of any shared understandings about what constituted Drama in Further Education. Actual involvement varied between the Devonshire Adviser who kept a watching brief on the role of Drama in both vocational and non-vocational Further Education courses,[1] and Nottinghamshire's 'General Inspector for Drama' who felt it necessary to pass our enquiry to another point in the system.[2]

Some responses, like the one from the Barnsley adviser, clearly showed scar tissues from previous skirmishes as a result of which expressive Drama had bent itself to the demands of the renewed instrumentalism of the MSC:

> ... I am unable to respond in detail to your request for information. However, I enclose some of the discussion documents for the TVEI Course, orginally called 'Performing Arts, now called 'Entertainments Business'.[3]

v) Examining/Validating Bodies

Examining and validating bodies constitute a fifth direct interest group in Further Education. This cluster is both large and complex, but under increasing pressure towards rationalization since the Hazlegrave Report, which recommended that national and local bodies should draw closer together

> to form a unified administrative organization for the examination, testing and general assessment of performance[4]

Many of the regional examining bodies are currently in the process of re-aligning their remits. Moving out of the specific Further Education/ Technical college arena, they have been reconstituted as examining groups

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1 Devon County, Terry Jones, Letter to Writer, County Hall, Exeter, 3 May 1985.
2 Nottinghamshire County Council, Geoff Readman, Letter to Writer, Sutton in Ashfield, Nottinghamshire, 4 May 1985.
3 Barnsley Metropolitan Borough Council; V. Potter, Letter to Writer, 26 April 1985, Barnsley 57 2HS (our emphasis).
4 D.E.S., Report of the Committee on Technician Courses and Examinations, H.M.S.O., 1969.

for the administration and execution of the General Certificate of Secondary Education.

Nevertheless, national examining bodies continue to act as filters for entry to Higher Education and the professions through Advanced level GCE courses and Certificate and Diploma courses. More important, however, from the viewpoint of this thesis, is the role of validation, which increasingly has brought the Boards into direct controlling contact with the colleges. Before pilot courses and integrated courses are approved, detailed profiles of proposed teaching staff, including a curriculum vitae for every teacher, have to be submitted, together with draft course submissions, and resource facilities. The Business and Technician Education Council (BTEC), for example, will not approve a course if the assessor is not satisfied that the teaching team is multi-disciplinary.[1] Similarly, the Royal Society of Arts will not approve a college submission for its Diploma in the Teaching of Communication unless the college has proven resources.[2]

Control is tangibly represented by the physical presence of assessors and moderators from the Examining Boards, who sustain the direct link between the individual college and the examining body. The role of the assessor/moderator appears open to the deployment of subtlety and guile as well as motivation and direction. At least one Examining Board had two conflicting versions of the assessor's role. The official and published account available in 'The Role of the Board's Assessor' emphasized the 'sympathetic' and supportive nature of assessment:

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1 B.T.E.C., B.T.E.C. National Courses: Business and Finance, Distribution Studies and Public Administration: Guidelines, London, B.T.E.C., 1985, p.2.

2 R.S.A., Diploma in the Teaching of Communication Skills, Syllabus 1980, (Revised 1984), London, R.S.A., 1984.

> The Assessor will seek to establish happy and honest working relationships with Course Tutors, be willing to listen sympathetically, and to criticise frankly if necessary. Any criticism will be positive and accompanied by suggestions for remedy.[1]

Confidential internal records of meetings, however, demonstrated clearly that the Assessor's role was more actively one of control. They must 'review each college course on a yearly basis', not every three years as many colleges believe.[2]

It is becoming increasingly apparent, however, that the power of the Examining Bodies in Further Education is indirectly restrained by their own economic circumstances, as their operation depends on the maintenance of income from examination fees. Currently, the National Examination Boards' incomes are threatened from at least two quarters. Traditionally, entry to many of the professions has been gained, at the initial stage at least, through co-operation between professional institutions and National Examining Bodies allowing exemption from parts of professional examinations, most notably in the recognition of the BTEC National Certificate and Diploma Courses. Since the incursion of integrated student-centred courses into erstwhile traditionally taught areas of the Further Education curriculum, such as the BTEC National Certificate and Diploma Awards, there have been growing signs of unease amongst some of the professional institutions, who have identified BTEC as 'causing confusion'.[3] This has constrained their view of the appropriateness of BTEC awards:

> It is unlikely that there will be many new banking students for the BTEC National Certificate courses starting in September.[4]

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1 R.S.A., 'The Role of the Assessor', in Notes for Guidance, London, R.S.A., 1985, p. 9.

2 R.S.A., Advisory Committee for Teachers' Certificates (Languages), Minutes of Meeting, held on Wednesday 1st May, 1985, London, 4.1, 4.2.

3 Institute of Bankers', The Banking Certificate, Circular Letter (ARR/CYM), 24/3/86.

4 ibid.

The Institute of Bankers, indeed, has begun to institute its own courses and examinations procedures, yet despite the conflict in what might be termed 'examining ideology', courses leading to the examination of the Bankers' Institute continue to be taught by the colleges, but increasingly in parallel with BTEC National Awards.[1] In practical operational terms, some colleges have been only minimally affected by this move. The Bankers' courses are taught by the same members of staff, in the same practical conditions as BTEC courses.[2] The epistemological and pedagogic bases have shifted back towards the dissemination of 'high status' subject-centred knowledge and teacher-centred didactic methods of transmission.[3] It is a small scale but significant example of Further Education's capacity to serve, concurrently, differing or even competing external demands.

The second constraint on the power of National Examining Bodies is a direct consequence of governmental policy to centralize and codify the examining systems, an intention avowed clearly in Education and Training for Young People:

> There are also marked weaknesses which are becoming more serious as the pace of change increases and as the demand grows for the mobility of skills.[4]

In their jostling for power within the proposed centralized system, conflict and competition between the National Examining Bodies has at times been all too visible, and has attracted political analysis, for example from Waitt:

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1 For example, see Sutton Coldfield College of Further Education, Annual Programme: 1986-1987, Birmingham, 1986, p20.
2 ibid.
3 Institute of Bankers', Certificate in Banking: Syllabus, London, IB, 1986.
4 D.E.S., Education and Training for Young People, H.M.S.O., London, 1983, p. 8.

> Indeed, the RSA suffered a political setback when the Haslegrave Report recommended that the CGLI undertake the administration of both TEC and BEC.[1]

The manoeuvres here have created some strange anomalies. For example, although excluded from both national validation and the Joint Board's Certificate of Pre-Vocational Education, the RSA hastened opportunistically to fill a 'market gap' by providing the first national certification procedure for the teachers of pre-vocational education.[2] A contemporary internal memorandum in an Examining Board under the heading 'Specialist Needs and a Common Framework' demonstrated high levels of anxiety, springing from the perceived need to reconcile a system facilitating individual cross-overs with the practical necessities of political and economic control:

> The original reason for developing a framework was to enable centres to run joint courses for candidates to transfer from one scheme to another. However, at the present time the Board also needs to develop a coherent system so that it can negotiate with bodies such as the DES and RACs to ensure that its qualifications have a place in an increasingly centralized system.[3]

The anxiety created by the need for direct interest groups to 'transfer' or to negotiate between themselves, throws interesting light on the mechanisms for achieving ideological equilibrium in the Further Education colleges. The principal agents of control appear currently to be preoccupied with establishing or maintaining their individual positions in the dominant centre in the face of competition from other powerful interest sources. Theoretically, of course, such unease in the controlling group may be initially a mere reshuffling, but there is also some opportunity afforded for the emergence of genuinely

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1 Waitt, p. 459.
2 R.S.A., Vocational Preparation Tutors' Certificate, 1985.
3 R.S.A.,'Specialist Needs and a Common Framework', Internal Memorandum, Advisory Committee for Teachers' Qualifications, (TQ2/85), 1985, R.S.A.

counter-hegemonic[1] voices. Before considering how these cross currents affected Drama, it may be useful to turn briefly to a similar pattern of manoeuvres involving the indirect interest groups.

b) Indirect Interest Groups

There is, of course, significance in the indirectness of the indirect interest groups from the theoretical standpoint of this thesis, as accommodation to constituencies with no formal power may be treated as one of the hallmarks of a pluralistic and hence opaque milieu. Indeed, when later in this Chapter we come to adjudicate the placement of Birmingham colleges in the framework of the two-by-two dichotomy, this will be one of the criteria employed. In addition, indirect interest groups bring reference group theory more obviously into play as such groups compete for the affiliations of the various actors in the situation, offering the comparisons, norms, values, general orientations and ideas by which individuals 'secure' themselves against the uncertainty and instability in their working environments.

i) Professional Bodies. Before moving to an examination of the influences exerted by external bodies (for example, the Banks or the Industrial Training Councils) on the curriculum of Further Education, we perhaps need to acknowledge the influences of representative professional bodies. NATFHEs College Administration: A Handbook,[2] remains a primary source of information to the extent that one college Principal described it as his 'Bible'.[3]

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1 Joseph Femia, Gramsci's Political Thought, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1981, Chapter 7.

2 Ian Waitt, (ed.), College Administration: A Handbook, London, N.A.T.F.H.E., 1980.

3 Phrase transcribed from Interview with F.E. Principal, 18 November, 1986 (See Methodological Appendix).

Within NATFHE there are specialist subject groups which apply and transmit general policy through each discipline. The Drama section is one of the weaker subject groups. Its publication Dramabout[1] appears irregularly, and always manages to look cheap and shabby. A member of NATFHE'S national executive saw the Drama section as isolated from wider Union issues and preoccupied with their own problems,[2] a view echoed at branch level. Confidential NATFHE records in the College which is the subject of the case study in Chapter Five, indicate that in the period from 1983-1988 three formal grievance procedures were initiated by Drama staff. The contemporary NATFHE branch secretary saw this as unusually high for a small section.[3] Many vocational lecturers retain membership of their craft or professional associations and many teachers of academic subjects remain in schools-based teachers' organizations. Many Drama lecturers choose not to become members of NATFHE, electing instead to join schools-based unions, rely on personal insurance or retain connections with alternative professional organizations. The following views of NATFHE from a Drama lecturer are probably not untypical:

> I cannot see that I have anything to gain from joining NATFHE. It may pretend to be a 'Professional' association, but its activities show it to be not unlike the portrayal of the grossest of Trades Unions as in I'm All Right Jack![4] It is too vocationally-centred and far too preoccupied with Party Politics. I certainly would not approach them for any help for I do not think they have the slightest notion about the circumstances and situation of Drama or the Drama teacher. My most valuable membership card is my Equity Card.[5]

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1 NATFHE, Drama Section Dramabout, Spring 1983.
2 Interview with Mike Hopkins 26 June, 1987. (Member of National Executive)
3 Interview with N.A.T.F.H.E. branch offical, 11 August, 1988. (See Methodological Appendix).
4 Roy Boulting I'm All Right Jack, British Lion Films, U.K., 1960.
5 Transcript of telephone interview with Gerald McNally, 11 August 1988 (see methodological appendix).

ii) Relationships with Higher Education

'No doubt the so-called 'royal road' to Higher Education, of 'A' level success, will remain substantially the same', writes Wheale,[1] echoing King's view that the colleges' role is often perceived as second rate:

> Obviously Further Education colleges will have to promote their more recent role among the Universities and Polytechnics, but one hopes that those responsible for admissions will not automatically assume that the products of the Further Education 'stable' are later starters or non-runners.[2]

Such views, however, deserve closer scrutiny. There is evidence that the Universities' greater willingness to accept 'non traditional' subjects for matriculation purposes has indirectly enhanced the credibility of the Further Education colleges, where many of the emergent or minority subjects were first launched.[3] As Wheale points out, the last decade has seen substantial academic change institutionalized in the Further Education curriculum, as the institutions of Higher Education have validated and approved courses, both for subject content and curriculum philosophy. This has given new status to interdisciplinary subjects like Communication Studies, Media Studies and Theatre Studies.[4] University and Polytechnic approval has also demanded a revised approach to teaching strategies and assessment procedures, and there is a new recognition of the value of practical study, together with an emphasis on team-teaching and experiential learning. In this respect Higher Education institutions have offered supportive reference points in establishing a particular climate of innovation that has proved helpful towards Drama and Drama-related pedagogies.

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1 Wheale, p. 42.
2 King, p. 170.
3 H.G. Earnshaw, The Associated Examining Board: Origin and History, London: A.E.B., 1974.
4 Wheale, p. 2.

More recently, the provision of special courses in preparation for entry to Higher Education (commonly known as Access courses) has brought a limited number of colleges into close and personal contact with their local University or Polytechnic. These courses are designed to meet the needs of those who have left school without acquiring the necessary qualifications to enter Higher Education, particularly those from ethnic minority groups. Only a limited number of Local Education Authorities are currently involved in 'Access' schemes, but evidence suggests that the schemes have had considerable impact.[1] Direct contact with Universities or Polytechnics appear to have mitigated their sense of remoteness. Awareness of the University tends not to remain confined to Access groups, but percolates through the establishment, generating a sense of affiliation, which manifests itself in student visits, shared library resources, day conferences, residential conferences and staff liaison.[2]

iii) Local Employers

The interests of local employers are represented in a variety of ways in the curriculum of Further Education. They may determine the range and nature of training provision through the YTS and Adult Training courses. They still provide clients for day-release courses for a variety of subjects from basic industrial operative level, to supervisory and management studies. Indirectly, their interests infiltrate many of the employment-related goals to which students aspire. Of increasing importance to the economic strategies of Further Education, training for local employment constitutes a competitive 'market-place' in which

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1 C.R.E., 'Access Studies to Higher Education: 1983-84', in Further Education in a Multi-Racial Society, C.R.E., London, 1985, pp. 103-105.

2 See, for example, 'Access and Quality', Report of N.A.T.F.H.E. Conference: Stoke Rochford, May 1986, N.A.T.F.H.E. Journal, October 1986, p. 33.

Further Education vies with private training schemes and companies' own training divisions. Major companies, such as Dunlop (SP) and Douglas Construction, 'require an effective and efficient training procedure for both short-term and long-term courses.'[1] With the increasing opportunities 'to have a significant influence on pricing policy',[2] colleges are encouraged, at national, local and institutional levels, to investigate, identify, and respond to local market needs. The results of such marketing strategies may take the form of sponsorship of students on existing courses in the colleges, or the provision of 'specialist' short or long courses on college premises, or 'in-house' courses involving college staff. These provisions are extremely useful to individual colleges, since the fees gained from such work are additional to any estimates or capitation allowances. This possibility appears to provide a channel through which an opportunistic entrepreneurially-minded establishment of Further Education may bypass official control. As Waitt notes:

> They are valuable additional college revenues...they have enabled colleges to cope with unexpected fluctuations of income and unbudgeted cost increases...they can be deployed at the discretion of the principal or the governing body, and can be used to provide facilities, equipment, materials or staffing that the local authority is unable or unwilling to provide.[3]

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1 Dunlop (SP) Tyres, UK Division, Erdington, Birmingham, Supervisory Training Requirements, Letter from D. Causer, (Training Officer) to Management Section of Sutton Coldfield College of Further Education, September 1986.
Douglas Construction Ltd., George Road, Erdington, Short Courses on Telephone Technique and Professional Letter-Writing, Letter, to Communications Section of S.C.C.F.E., July, 1986.

2 Marketing Further and Higher Education, pp. 31-32.

3 Waitt, p. 193.

iv) Minor Agencies of Funding

'The littlest fish may enter in'.[1] And indeed seem to be welcomed, adding further complexity to the variety of constituencies colleges need to take into account. It is beyond the scope of this study to attempt a comprehensive list of the vast number of minor funding agents which contribute to Further Education colleges. Their range extends from the European Economic Community, whose Social Fund provides 'temporary relief' in areas of crisis or special need,[2] to local private charities which may donate funds for a specific purpose such as the gift of £5,000 from a small Birmingham charity for the re-decoration of a college Drama Studio.[3]

It is important to note, however, that funding agencies often nurture ideological roots and political affiliations which may be at odds with the prevailing College ideology. The Co-operative Society, for example, has obtained a toe-hold in the colleges through its Consumer and Community Education programme,[4] while the Workers' Educational Association maintains its involvement with Continuing Education through its association with the extra-mural departments of Universities, and their joint provision of college-based courses.[5] Religious and moral

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1 Rupert Brooke, quoted in D.E.S./Adrian Bristow, Inside the Colleges of Further Education, H.M.S.O., 1976, p. 30.

2 'Seventh Report on the Activities of the European Social Fund, Financial Year 1978', Brussels, 1979, quoted in Waitt, p. 303.

3 Combined Charities, Sutton Coldfield, £5,000 donated to Sutton Coldfield College of Further Education for re-decoration of its Drama studio, 1986-1987.

4 The Education Department, Co-operative Union Ltd., Co-operation, Loughborough, 1984, pp. 2.2-2.6.

5 University of Birmingham Department of Extra-Mural Studies, Courses for Adults: Autumn 1986-Spring 1987, Birmingham, 1986.

concerns transparently underpin the agendas of trust funds set up for research and development in moral education, such as St Peter's Trust, Saltley.[1]

The presence of any minor funding interest in a college is likely to have at least a subtle influence on the institution. At its simplest level, the college may benefit from additional resources and facilities which are used by students who are not directly the concerns of the agency. At a more complex level, there is an escalation of competing reference groups capable of questioning or even undermining some of the moral certainties of the milieu. A relatively recent study of organizational climate in Further Education, Conflict and Change in a Technical College, suggested that the interplay of group interests and conflicts in individual colleges produces a powerful 'college climate' which is unique to each institution.[2] It is a part of this pattern that alternative ideological schemes associated with particular interest groups may exert on a college indirect forces of influence which in some circumstances may run counter to, or even contradict, a transparently instrumental college milieu. The strength or weakness of these potentially 'deviant' counter cultures will partly determine the extent to which an institutional milieu might be labelled 'transparent' in the analysis of the two-by-two dichotomy. Certainly their even embryonic presence offers the opportunity for groups of tutors seeking relative emancipation from the dominant ethos to appeal over the heads of the college hierarchy to sets of values and assumptions that have already, in the most literal sense, been admitted.

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1 S.C.C.F.E., 'To develop Moral Education, Personal Development, Faith Development across the Liberal Studies Curriculum', Submission to the Saltley Trust, Birmingham, 1986.

2 Beryl F.Tipton, Conflict and Change in a Technical College, London, Hutchinson Educational, 1973, pp. 79-80.

v) Local Community Links

> To the ordinary public, the 'tech', as they call it, is something clear-cut, real, understandable, acceptable. This is their kind of institution ... Millions have direct experience of the Technical College, accepting it as part of the natural order of things. Sons, brothers and husbands have been going to night school at the tech for generations.[1]

Historically, as Apple observes, the image of the Technical College has become associated with an odd juxtaposition of 'economic utility' and 'culturally divisive community needs'.[2] He sees its role in the community as one of providing low prestige functional support, but governed ultimately by macro-economic considerations:

> Obviously, television repair is a subject which, if learned well, may provide economic benefits to its user. However, the economy itself will not be unduly impaired if this is not accorded prestige status. In fact, if Braverman's analysis is correct - that our economic structure requires the continual division and breaking down of complex skills into less complex and more standardised skills - economic control may be helped by the lack of prestige given to such craftmanship.[3]

In providing 'minority' subjects and courses considered unimportant or impracticable by local schools, colleges have often been regarded as a mere adjunct to the high status programme of the traditional sixth form. This has been particularly apparent in school-college link courses, in which a substantial number of colleges are refusing to participate. In one Birmingham college, for example, an internal report recorded:

> Schools-based students have generally been the most difficult to integrate within GCSE and 'A' level Communication courses. They appear to find difficulties with self-motivation and student centred/negotiated techniques of learning and teaching which are implicit within the College curriculum. It

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1 Bristow, pp. 4-5.
2 Michael Apple, p. 19.
3 ibid., p.20.

> will be necessary, therefore, to scrutinize very rigorously any future applications from schools and to discourage wherever possible schools-based applicants.[1]

A college in Norfolk went one stage beyond 'discouraging'. For its Foundation Course in Drama it was thought necessary to protect the 'adult' environment of the College by screening applicants with the explicit purpose of excluding applicants seeking to pursue it on a school-linked basis:

> Please note that, unlike some other College courses based on GCE 'A' level, the Drama Foundation Course is not available on a part-time or school-linked basis, nor as a one-year course.[2]

c) Postscript to the Analysis of Interest Groups in Further Education

The above analysis of direct and indirect interest groups reveals some subtle juxtapositions and affiliations. Although there is no necessity to challenge the insight that social control in Further Education, deployed in defence of its dominant instrumentalism,[3] is in general achieved through willing compliance, the proliferation of interest groups possesses some capacity to muddy the waters, to that extent making the milieux less 'transparent'. Outside reference groups, too, offer some succour and support to those who have their own reasons for wishing to loosen or escape the straitjacket of 'passive' acceptance of the existing status quo. At this point, embryonic troublesome groups tend to be defined as deviant, so the full weight of hegemonic saturated common sense can be brought to bear on them, if necessary with an element of coercion. This explanation fits the model put forward in

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1 Sutton Coldfield College of Further Education Department of General Studies, Report on Communications Courses, 1984-85, Birmingham p3.

2 Norwich City College of Further and Higher Education, (Admissions Tutor, Peter Butler), Foundation Course in Drama, (Course Handbook) October, 1985.

3 Geoff Whitty, Sociology and School Knowledge: Curriculum Theory, Research and Politics, Methuen, London, 1985. Whitty argues that outside battles have had few 'transformative effects' on Further Education, p. 168.

Femia's analysis of Gramsci's political thought in which consensus and coercion represent to some extent alternative strategies open to those seeking to perpetrate cultural dominance.[1] We later apply these ideas to the detailed analysis of a single setting. It might be worth reminding ourselves at this point of one tactical recourse available to a college seeking to dampen down potentially oppositional voices without moving towards coercive modes of control, the manipulation, without real commitment, of a liberal rhetoric. As demonstrated in the historical section, such ideas have long been available as a rhetorical resource. The danger, as the last sentence of the following quotation reveals, is that the sentiments expressed may be noted by radical teachers who may seek eventually to hoist an institution on its own petard. In the short term, however, appeasement and impression-management seem to work:

> The apparently liberal/progressive stance is severely curtailed. It is at this stage that challenge ceases, for rather than building on a student resistance, the aim is to control it. Relevance and profiling are the chosen means. Students' partial insights into the nature of education within capitalism are used against themselves in an attempt to produce those rounded individuals who are realistic about their aspirations and who when called upon can labour effectively for capital. In the end ABC's educational practice is only a glimmer, a glimmer, however, that will be reflected in the actual practice of radical teachers.[2]

3. Roles played by Drama

Finally we direct this section again towards the position of Drama, and examine the various roles it has actually played in contemporary Further Education, in order to determine how its expressive base has been acknowledged or denied in a variety of settings. The argument of the thesis is that Drama retains some of its ancient capacity to develop a distinct counter-hegemonic voice, although because of its inherent

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1 Femia, Gramsci's Political Thought, pp. 42-50.
2 Avis, pp30-31.

political unreliability it by no means always does so. Drama tutors' ability to initiate or to support oppositional cross-currents depends to some extent on its strong expressive affiliations and non-instrumental outside reference groups, for as Whitty observes, actors in an oppressed situation can better 'play a significant ... role in social transformation when consciously linked with other policies committed to similar ends in other spheres'.[1] Seven broad curriculum areas form the basis for the analysis of the various roles played by Drama in the curriculum of Further Education.

a) Drama in the Academic Curriculum

In Further Education, Drama most obviously occupies the academic slot as a subject taught for Ordinary and Advanced level GCSE and GCE examinations. The Advanced Level Theatre Studies Examination was launched as a pilot in 1977 by the Associated Examining Board. In 1977 there were 141 candidates; by 1986 this figure had grown to 3,500.[2] The remarkable progress of Theatre Studies as a 'subject' in Further Education closely resembles Layton's model for the evolution of school subjects[3], the first phase of which is often grounded in 'utility'.[4] Both the Course and the Examination were conceived and nurtured in a Further Education College, namely South Warwickshire:

> The Course was initiated by Gordon Vallins to provide the Drama students at the College with some sort of qualification. A package deal was made up of Theatre Studies, English Literature and one other 'A' level.[5]

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1 Whitty, Sociology and School Knowledge, p. 170.
2 A.E.B., List of Centres, January 1986.
3 Layton, cited in Ivor Goodson, 'Defining and Defending the Subject; Geography versus Environmental Studies in Martyn Hammersley and Andy Hargreaves, Curriculum Practice: Some Sociological Case Studies, Falmer Press, New York, 1983, pp. 89-106, p. 89.
4 ibid.
5 Discussion with Gordon Vallins, Dramabout, Spring, 1983, p. 11.

Although the idea of 'utility' in Layton's model might be seen as matching the instrumental ideology of Further Education, more important historically was the implicit recognition of Drama's academic credibility which paved the way for its incorporation into the corpus of 'high status' knowledge. Drama in Further Education had previously often performed a low-status servicing function, validated through such specialist authorities as LAMDA and the English Speaking Board. The exam was innovative in many senses. 'Many teachers felt that the breadth of knowledge and skill was unique'.[1] It tapped a literary heritage encompassing a range of texts by Shakespeare, Kyd, Jonson, Shaw, Chekov, Ibsen, Pinero, Miller, Brecht and Pinter. It required, among other things, knowledge of theatrical and literary conventions from the Graeco-Roman period to the present day, and familiarity with the principles and aesthetics of theatrical practitioners like Brecht and Stanislavski.[2] Initially it tended to be taught in the traditional 'Eng. Lit.' style of literary analysis[3], but soon expanded to embrace popular non-literary theatre, including burlesque, pantomime and the Music Hall'.[4] An early radical innovation was the inclusion of practical dramatic skills, a development which allowed Drama potential to move towards a more emancipatory 'second phase', as predicted by Layton's model.[5] The agenda correspondingly shifted towards more expressive concerns:

> Individual skills; creative contribution; development of the individual in the group context.[6]

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1 ibid.
2 A.E.B., Theatre Studies, 'A' level, Specimen Questions, A.E.B., 1979.
3 Dramabout, Spring, 1982, p8.
4 A.E.B., 'The Legitimate and the Non Literary or Popular Theatre', Notes for the Guidance of Centres, A.E.B., 1981.
5 Goodson citing Layton, p. 90.
6 A.E.B. Theatre Studies 'A' level, Guidelines for the Group Project, A.E.B., 1981.

Drama appeared for a time to be 'having it both ways', both maintaining traditional credibility by addressing itself to culturally 'appropriate' material, but also developing a legitimate interest in creative individual responses in a broader pedagogic setting. Teachers of Speech, History and Literature worked alongside Craft instructors, Electricians, Textile specialists, and Woodwork teachers, in a dissolution of subject barriers.[1] High entry figures demonstrated widespread student demand, and justified the economic investment. Even Higher Education's response was unexpectedly encouraging:

> Higher Education has not been slow to respond. The 'A' level has been validated by nearly every university: London and the JMB took their time, Sussex remained the only recalcitrant institution.[2]

By this time we can see examinable Drama in Further Education lying very close to Layton's 'second stage' in his model of a subject's evolution, as 'growing academic status' had become the primary means of measurement.[3] It is at this point that we must consider the more subtle issues underlying the increasing success of Drama in the academic curriculum. Layton's model would lead us to anticipate a curtailment of Drama's expressive nature in favour of 'purer more theoretical, academic rigour'.[4] This is clearly closer to pure hegemonic compliance rather than anything even remotely suggestive of 'alternative'[5] cultural valuation, particularly when we note that in the 'final phase' of Layton's model, the state of the learners should be that of

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1 Dramabout, Spring, 1982, pp. 8-12.
2 Dramabout, Spring, 1983, pp6,7.
3 Goodson citing Layton, p90
4 ibid.
5 Whitty, Sociology and School Knowledge, p. 170. The concepts of 'alternative' and 'oppositional' aspirations are derived from Raymond Williams, 'Base and Superstructure in Marxist Cultural Theory', New Left Review. 1973, pp. 3-16.

'passivity and resignation'.[1] Clearly this process of hegemonic incorporation into a traditional academic subject has not happened to Drama in Further Education, a circumstance which requires some explanation.

One circumstance mitigating against Drama following Layton's model of the evolution of an academic subject, paradoxically has been a renewed emphasis on its instrumental value as a 'vocational' subject, a notion that was allowed to coexist, although awkwardly, alongside its escalating 'expressive' claims. Financially sponsored courses in Theatre Crafts, and City and Guilds and BTEC courses in Television, Film and Video skills, together with a new orientation towards the Performing Arts and Media Studies, all developed sales pitches organized around the view that technical competence in these broadly-defined 'dramatic' skills could lead to glamorous employment. Even in this compromise, whether we regard it as bribe or insurance policy, the ideologies of Drama and Further Education remained distinct. Drama was allowed to be expressive because its products were marketable. Looked at in one light it had potential to undermine the instrumentalism of Further Education; in another light it could, just, appear as one of its finest examples, except of course, that Media careers are at odds with proletarian education. Not surprisingly, Drama flourished most in colleges with something of a middle class aura.

Goodson has argued that one traditional method for a subject to gain academic respectability is for it to affiliate itself with subjects already having gained 'acceptance'.[2] Apart from the earlier affiliation with English Literature, Drama and Theatre Arts have never sought this

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1 Goodson citing Layton, p. 90.

2 Butcher and Strauss, cited in Ivor Goodson's forthcoming work. Chapter 11, 'The Making of Curriculum, (Draft copy, Mimeo). Used as basis of seminar, Department of Arts Education, University of Warwick, Jun 1988, pp. 298-300.

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advantage. Indeed, from very early on both subjects were in their pedagogies determinedly student-centred, with project work, continuous assessment, peer group evaluation and face-to-face interviews as the foundation stones of certification. The links with professional Theatre and Media practice offered Further Education Drama teachers an outside reference group and some influence. For example, from 1981 the Royal Society of Arts undertook validation of professional Drama training, giving Further Education a slice of the action.[1] By 1981, many Drama lecturers were reconstructionist if not radical in their general outlook, questioning the assumptions of their own subject examinations as 'elitist'. Vallins, one of the leading lights of 'A' level Drama, agreed that the criticism was justified[2], and a reconsideration of the 'A' level syllabus followed. By 1985 the Examination had itself moved much further away from a culturally reproductive mode towards a reconstructionist position. The number of compulsory 'set' texts was reduced, optional studies were increased, and students encouraged to undertake studies of minority or fringe Theatre in place of the former required 'project' on a professional Theatre performance.[3]

Drama in Further Education appears, therefore, to have evolved somewhat atypically as an academic subject. In spite of the broad instrumental framework of Further Education, which the subject tutors themselves responded to equivocally, Drama and Theatre Studies achieved relatively swift recognition whilst in general still keeping faith with expressive motivations, methodologies and results. Yet there were particular circumstances in which Drama was perceived as getting out of

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1 R.S.A., Diplomas in Drama, London, R.S.A., 1986, p. 3.
2 Discussion with Gordon Vallins in Dramabout, Spring, 1983, p. 11.
3 A.E.B., Theatre Studies Advanced Level, Syllabus: 1985, A.E.B., London, 1984.

hand and attracted more coercive forms of control. This possibility is analysed in some detail in the case study of Sutton Coldfield College of Further Education.

b) Drama in Training and Re-training

Typical of Further Education courses generating this category have been YTS and Restart. Offerings are often pejoratively labelled as 'rescue' courses,[1] since they differ from 'routine' vocational training in that their primary function is remedial. The students are designated 'trainees' and are funded from government sources. An unsubtle 'politics of blame' attempts to shift responsibility to the individual unemployed person, who is seen as

> quite unprepared or ill-equipped for working life.[2]

Drama was first introduced into this setting as a motivational palliative, a supposed antidote to the boredom of skills-based training for life on the dole:

> Instructors found it difficult to make the necessary changes to their style need to encourage better learnings skills in their pupils.[3]

Traditional didactic pedagogy was increasingly seen as ineffective, and alternatives tactfully canvassed:

> There are two aspects to the influence of trainers on trainee learning - firstly, the trainer must be aware that her natural style is to 'instruct' or 'teach' or 'tell the trainee what to do', secondly, the trainer must consciously adopt a facilitative and enabling style even though this may seem unnatural at first.[4]

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1 Collin Turner, 'Communications and Inter-Personal Skills', in Languages and Learning in Vocational Further Education, D.E.S., Teachers' Short Course, University of York, January, 1980, p. 13.
2 Department of Employment, A New Training Initiative, H.M.S.O., 1981, p. 6.
3 Youth Training News, Issue 5, M.S.C., 1983.
4 John Morrison, Youth Training, London, Hutchinson, 1984, p. 45.

. The movement towards the use of Drama as an explicit learning tool, by which 'setting problems, simulating situations, role-playing, and discussion' were developed to achieve 'self-awareness, experimentation and self-realization', has been regarded, somewhat over-optimistically, as evidencing expressive intent.[1] More realistically, we should regard it as an expedient utilization of pedagogies derived from Drama in pursuit of instrumental goals.

The one-week Restart courses were, in effect, one of the 'compulsory' alternatives for adults unemployed for a period of more than twelve months. Unlike in the training programmes for the younger unemployed, dramatic pedagogic methods were not merely recommended, but specified in a step-by-step guide to instructors. An extract from a teaching scheme includes the following:

> Session 3 An Image of the Future
>
> The idea is to free people, if only for half an hour, from the restrictions of reality, to enable the essence of real aims, hopes and goals to surface. No-one pretends that these are then to be followed literally. The point is that the fantasy exercise should give some clue about the nature of a person's aspirations. Hence the real work in this exercise occurs at Step 2.[2]

'Step 2' is, in fact, a manipulative insight into servitude rather than emancipation. The role play suggestions approach the bizarre, but they are defended on the grounds that fantasy can be viewed as the nursery slopes of reality:

> It paves the way to plans and goals of a more realistic nature being set. The realistic goal setting exercises begin on day 5 and the fantasy exercise is designed as a way of limbering-up for this.[3]

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1 ibid., p. 51.
2 Restart Training Programme, p. 39.
3 ibid.

The tone of the Restart Guidelines almost suggests that the Drama activities are a form of 'therapy', and as such should only be attempted by highly-skilled and experienced Drama specialists. But there is little evidence that many trained Drama teachers were involved with Restart Courses, and certainly none with the skills required for the highly sensitive area of Drama therapy. So what we are left with, most disturbingly, is an agenda for personal change through dramatic activity to be instigated, carried through and measured by trainers working to pre-printed instructions.

On a more optimistic note, the variety of Drama and Theatre-related skills and support systems outlined by the National Theatre's Education Department, including administration, lighting, stage management, production work (metal work, carpentry and painting), sales and marketing,[1] are recognised as vocationally specific, and therefore eligible for training grants. But this time the instruction is appropriate, and the vocational emphasis justified.

c) Drama in Vocational and Professional Training

There have been, traditionally, two main channels for Drama in vocational and professional training in Further Education, specific training for Drama or Theatre-related work and support to other vocational or professional subjects. 'A' level Theatre Studies frequently forms the core around which 'professional' or 'vocational' Drama training courses are built. Burton-upon-Trent College, for example, claims unequivocally that its Drama courses are designed to provide

> a thorough preliminary training for those who wish to take up the Theatrical profession.[2]

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1 National Theatre Education Department, Careers in Theatre, National Theatre, London, September 1982, pp. 1-10.

2 W.M.R.A.C., Directory, 1986-1987, Birmingham, 1986, p. 65.

Less ambitiously, perhaps, colleges in Hereford, Kidderminster, Sutton Coldfield, and South Warwickshire, offered two-year courses in

> Drama and Liberal Arts designed for students entering at 16+ intending to specialize in those subjects. They are not limited to those who wish to proceed to professional training in Drama and Music but will be of value to students interested in the number of careers where experience in these fields is relevant.[1]

These courses, however, have tended to be highly specialized and highly 'visible' in their rare occurrences. Their infrequency warranted a short special section in Regional Course Directories, with detailed explication. The section on 'Drama and Music' in WMRAC's Directory, for example, was placed alongside 'Provision for Special Needs and Agricultural and Horticultural Education', the implication being that neither Drama, Special Needs, nor Agriculture were part of the mainstream culture of Further Education.[2] Indeed, as Allen has suggested, the notion of professional Drama training had some 'bizarre' associations,[3] so that even its transparently instrumental roles were regarded as marginal:

> Drama has been in a strange position since with certain natural gifts of voice and body and certain familiarity with acting at school or in amateur groups, one can or could make one's way into the professional world altogether without training.[4]

But apart from its own specifically vocational arena, Drama is called upon to serve Vocational and Professional Training in two principal ways; it is deployed for the practice and rehearsal of vocational skills, and for provoking empathetic projection in students whose future jobs will require them to deal with unfamiliar situations and people, particularly when these are likely to be emotionally charged.

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1 ibid., p. 67.
2 ibid., p. 67.
3 John Allen, Drama in Schools: Its Theory and Practice, London, Heinemann, 1979, p. 159.
4 ibid.

In craft/operative level courses, safety procedures are frequently taught through dramatization, role play and simulation.[1] Interpersonal Skills, Catering, Hairdressing, Construction and Office Studies are also often taught through dramatic reconstruction or simulation, although often an apologetic or hopeful tone is adopted by vocationalists using Drama as a pedagogic aid. Craft teachers, for example, were able to contemplate

> a possibility of role reversal, more structured roles and the enthusiastic involvement of all participants.[2]

Correspondence with County Drama Advisers throughout England indicated that it was common practice[3] for Drama or 'quasi-Drama' teachers (such as lecturers in Speech) to offer to prepare students in vocational courses for additional 'specialist' qualifications offered through the syllabuses and examinations of the London Academy of Music and Dramatic Arts and the English Speaking Board. We cannot ignore this indirect 'infiltration' of Drama into the Vocational and Professional Training curriculum of Further Education, since evidence suggests that a considerable number of students

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1 C.G.L.I., Craft 200: Syllabus/Objectives, 1985-86, C.G.L.I., London, 1985.

2 J.G. Burgoyne and R. Stuart, 'Hypothetical Qualities of a Good Manager', in Simulation/Games for Learning, Journal of the Society for Academic Gaming and Simulation in Education and Training, Vol.9, No. 1, Spring 1979, p. 11.

3 Hounslow Borough Council, Douglas Collin, Letter to Writer, 24 April 1985.
Staffordshire County Council, Ronald Whetton, Letter to Writer, 5 May 1985.
Northamptonshire County Coucil, Bill Shaw, Letter to Writer, 27 April 1985.
Sussex East County Council, Michael Kremer, Letter to Writer, 2 May 1985.
Durham County Council, Kevin Graham, Letter to Writer, 27 April 1985
Hertfordshire County Council, Dennis Hamley, Letter to Writer, 17 May 1985.

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1 C.G.L.I., Craft 200: Syllabus/Objectives, 1985-86, C.G.L.I., London, 1985.

2 J.G. Burgoyne and R. Stuart, 'Hypothetical Qualities of a Good Manager', in Simulation/Games for Learning, Journal of the Society for Academic Gaming and Simulation in Education and Training, Vol.9, No. 1, Spring 1979, p. 11.

3 Hounslow Borough Council, Douglas Collin, Letter to Writer, 24 April 1985.
Staffordshire County Council, Ronald Whetton, Letter to Writer, 5 May 1985.
Northamptonshire County Coucil, Bill Shaw, Letter to Writer, 27 April 1985.
Sussex East County Council, Michael Kremer, Letter to Writer, 2 May 1985.
Durham County Council, Kevin Graham, Letter to Writer, 27 April 1985
Hertfordshire County Council, Dennis Hamley, Letter to Writer, 17 May 1985.

are in contact with Drama exclusively through this route.[1]

Although one Drama Adviser regretted the 'lack of co-operation' shown to Drama specialists by vocational specialists,[2] he admitted that Drama specialists did not always 'conform' to the very 'limiting' tasks set by vocational teachers.[3] The apparently noble 'selfless' move by which Drama submits itself so willingly to open and external means of evaluation must be viewed, therefore, with a considerable degree of suspicion. Achieving emancipation through reference to a valued outside body, Drama teachers are relatively free to introduce expressive elements and the vocationalists are by-and-large forced to grit their teeth and bear it.

In 1989, however, the minimal position of Drama in vocational and professional training underwent a significant and drastic shift in the direction of highly increased attention. The change of emphasis and regard is likely to have wide-reaching repercussions both for the role of Drama in Further Education generally, which we shall address at this point, and for practitioners of Drama who have traditionally occupied positions of low or equivocal esteem. We shall address the question of how shifts in perception of the role of Drama may directly affect its

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1 Leeds County Council, David Morton, Letter to Writer, 18 May 1985, demonstrated that although at Thomas Darby College, Leeds, there was no Drama Department, 330 Students had direct experience of Drama through the following course: Nursery Nursing, Catering and Hotel Management, Liberal Studies (in which Drama's pedagogies and validation were present). Birmingham Local Education Authority, Roy Hawksworth, Letter to Writer, 15 May 1985, again revealed an apparently widespread practice: Speech and Drama activities inherent within Nursery Nursing Examinations Board's syllabus, received additional teaching time because of the certification possible through the syllabuses and examinations of the English Speaking Board. The additional certification 'justified' the extra teaching time.

2 Birmingham Local Education Authority, Roy Hawksworth, Letter to Writer, 15 May 85.

3 ibid.

practitioners by reference to a real-life re-alignment of staff in the College of the case study which forms the basis for Chapter Five of this thesis.

By 1989 transparent control of the Further Education Curriculum in terms of real financial power had passed from the Manpower Services Commission into the hands of the Training Commission.[1] As the name 'Employment and Training' suggests, the new initiative was overtly instrumental. We might, therefore, have anticipated that Drama would have become increasingly marginalised, if not excluded, from the curriculum of Further Education. Following the White Paper of 1988[2], however, the role of Drama was catapulted to the forefront of political and economic consciousness of training needs as the proposed De-Regulation of transmission and broadcasting licences opened the flood-gates of an unprecedented growth in the Media industries.[3] Many of the skills now required for the workforce of mushrooming Media industries were traditionally associated with a small corpus of Drama specialists, the BBC and IBA; or enthusiastic amateurs.[4] The emergent workforce was said to include 'lighting technicians, sound technicians, production assistants, programme builders, sound and vision editing technicians, presenters and presentation assistants'.[5] Additionally, the need for people skilled in the engineering and technical operations of all aspects

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1 See, for example, City of Birmingham Education Department, The T.V.E. Planning Document Submitted to the Training Commission: July 1988, Birmingham, 1988, p. 13.

2 Home Office, Broadcasting in the 90s: Competition, Choice and Quality, H.M.S.O., London, 1988.

3 Sir Richard Attenborough, 'Pandora's Box? Will the 1990s Bring Forth Feast or Famine?', Fleming Memorial Lectures 1989, re-printed in The Royal Television Society, Journal, Vol 26/2, May-June 1989, London, pp. 131-139.

4 Radio Academy, Training Seminar, Birmingham School of Music, 8 September 1989.

5 Radio Academy, A Career in Radio, R.A. Bristol, 1989.

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4 Radio Academy, Training Seminar, Birmingham School of Music, 8 September 1989.

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of Media technology has been described as 'critical'.[1] Given that the BBC will no longer train anyone not under contract to the Corporation,[2] and that the IBA is no longer capable of sustaining cohesive training arrangements in the face of its own fragmentation, then the accusation that the White Paper makes no provision whatsoever for recruitment and training[3] seems to be a valid one. It is predictable that Further Education will move to fill this need, and that there will be immediate and critical reappraisal of the value of Drama and Media Studies in the post sixteen curriculum. The most powerful testament to both the growth of the Media industries, and the urgent need to train a workforce to match that growth, perhaps rests in the foundation in 1990 of a City Technology College for the Arts, devoted entirely to education and training in the Performing Arts. The B.R.I.T. School in Croydon is funded from a variety of sources; in addition to local and central Government finance, there is strong support from the Media industries themselves including the British Film Institute, the Royal Television Society, The British Phonographic Institute and the Radio Academy.[4]

Students are to be 'as prepared as possible for the world of work',[5] and will pursue a curriculum concentrating on four areas: Theatre, Dance, Music and Electronic Media.[6] It is these four areas which establish the course's vocational credibility as students are expected to gain national qualifications (including G.C.S.E., 'A' level, AS level and BTEC National Awards)[7] for entry to a variety of Media careers.

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1 Radio Academy, Training Seminar.
2 ibid.
3 Attenborough, 'Pandora's Box', p. 133.
4 B.R.I.T. School, Showcase, Issue 1, 15 July 1989.
5 ibid.
6 B.R.I.T., Showcase.
7 ibid.

Since the B.R.I.T. School itself developed from a College of Further Education (and indeed continues to share major facilities such as the Theatre), we might expect to find echoes of the new vocationalization. By validating Theatre Technicians Courses, Video and Television Skills Courses, and Television and Radio Journalism Courses, the City and Guilds have placed a vocational stamp of approval upon Drama in the curriculum of Further Education. Even more specific in its orientation towards Drama as vocational education is BTECs award in the Performing Arts. The saga is yet another example of Further Education's entrepreneurial and opportunistic stance and its willingness to use Drama to its own perceived advantage. Media-Land's streets, like those of London in the imagination of Dick Wittington, are thought to be paved with gold, and Further Education moves in hopefully. Drama has become the cat, offering companionship, good fortune, direction and pantomimic entertainment.

d) Management and Supervisory Studies

This area includes the highest grade of work in any Further Education college.

Drama has a long-established presence in Management and Supervisory Studies. As early as 1972 a Further Education manual, Teaching in Further Education, advocated the use of role play in Management and Supervisory Studies:

> This teaching method aims to give individual students insight into the ways in which organizations work and humans react. It has been applied mainly to management and supervisory training but may also be used to prepare students for a wide range of 'situational' pressures.[1]

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[1] G.J. Russell, Teaching in Further Education, London, Pitman, 1972 p. 82.

Management 'effectiveness',[1] according to Burgoyne and Stuart, depends on the suspension to some degree of strictly functional roles; there has to be a considerable recognition of 'self', which may need to be distanced from the role of 'manager', particularly in terms of stress and pressure. It is in facilitating this 'division' that Drama has such appeal for the teachers of Business and Management Studies. It is in Management and Supervisory Studies that role play is given most potential for developing critical situational insights, but its permission to be expressive in this way is to some extent bound up with the relatively high status of Professional and Management training, itself suggestive of upward mobility and frequently undertaken by middle managers with promotion in mind.

e) Drama in Leisure and Recreation

The lack of serious intent evidenced towards Leisure and Recreation, which has frequently resulted in its 'relegation' to Adult Education or the remaining 'Institutes', is changing. The following comment was once typical:

> What we do is to group together all the non-vocational courses, such as pottery, cookery, woodwork and car maintenance run by the different departments. Then we appoint some keen young lecturer, strong as an ox and full of missionary zeal, to develop the work.[2]

Recently there has been something of a boom in the provision of Leisure or Recreation Courses in Further Education, although it is possible to discern conflicting motivations lying behind the courtship of Drama. One factor is the increased priority given to 'preparation' for leisure, as one projected 'solution' to large-scale and long-term unemployment. Under the 'Community Programme', for example, the MSC launched a national scheme of sports and leisure:

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1 ibid.
2 Bristow, p. 120.

> to encourage participation among such groups as unemployed, teenagers, the elderly, disabled people and ethnic minorities who do not participate at present.[1]
>
> Recreation and leisure is now one of the fastest growing industries in this country and career prospects are excellent.[2]

With regard to the first, Drama can be seen to be playing its part in a 'curriculum for enforced leisure'. NATFHE'S Drama Section has somewhat bitterly criticised MSC-based Drama activities, questioning the moral basis of Drama's participation in an exercise to which it is possible to attribute bad faith.[3] With regard to the opportunities of the leisure industry, Drama is sometimes represented as a growth area in the community Arts towards which redundant young bricklayers or engineers might be redeployed. This flavour was caught effectively by the Sociable Theatre Group in Nottingham, which operated as an

> 'MSC-funded regular schedule of two shows per day in various schools, colleges, hospitals and other institutions with YTS trainees transforming redundant bricklayers of tomorrow into motivated artisans of Drama'.[4]

The term 'artisans'[5] artfully suggests a kind of equivalence between the roles, but in practice Community Theatre is more likely to be ideologically liberal and pluralistic and suggests a world in which Drama may transform views, heighten any existing conflict and in general promote expressive rather than instrumental learning.

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1 National Youth Bureau, Youth Training Update, No. 2, September, 1986, London, p, 15.
2 Brooklyn Tech. Certificate in Recreation and Leisure, Course Booklet, 1986, p. 7.
3 'Drama in YOPS'. Conference held at Clarendon College of Further Education, Nottingham, 23 January 1982, Reported in Dramabout, Spring 1982, pp. 1-16.
4 Dramabout, Spring 1982, pp. 1-14.
5 ibid.

f) Drama in the Integrated Curriculum

The next 'arena' to which we turn is that of the Integrated Curriculum in Further Education. Since the seminal document A Basis for Choice, an integrated or cross-discipline philosophy, albeit a contested one, now underpins all pre-vocational and basic General Education courses in Further Education. Drama tutors and pedagogies derived from Drama, are admitted, almost as of right, into the teaching teams. There is plenty of evidence of their renewed influence on courses, particularly those intent on developing 'active learning' strategies:

> Role-play an Industrial Tribunal (To analyse the importance of people as employees, both as managers and workers and the factors determining their availability, suitability and efficiency).[1]

> This college has an efficient and popular video recording unit, which is portable and can be operated by the students. They decide to make a short documentary programme about a local environment problem (e.g. a proposal to improve travelling times to the city centre by widening a residential road). A production team is formed and an outline script produced. A schedule is drawn up for the making of the programme in the time and with the equipment available. It becomes clear that there is a lot of dispute about the proposed road, and that the problems involved are not just technical. Interviews are arranged with local people and an attempt is made to produce a balanced argument on the issue and to convey the statistical evidence in an accessible manner.[2]

The cultural implications of integrated curricula are subject to heated debate. The erosion of subject boundaries, together with the focus on student-centred and activity-based learning, clearly opens out a wide arena for Drama to operate in. Drama itself has a contribution to make to breaking down subject barriers through pedagogic methods such as simulation and role play, leading to more open-ended, student-centred,

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1 B.T.E.C., Core Unit Specifications, p. 27.
2 ABC, p. 45.

negotiated curriculum strategies. The integrated curriculum attracted the wrath of Further Education's 'traditionalists', who perceived a challenge to the elite status of single subjects, and the debate attracted 'sensationalist' media coverage.[1] More radical elements in the teaching profession criticised Drama from quite different bases, arguing that 'integrated' Drama is an emasculated version being used as a hegemonic ploy to ensure compliance in a 'system that provides experiential learning through role-play',[2] but only for the covert purpose of reinforcing existing class consciousness by maintaining the distinction between lower class 'skills' and upper class 'knowledge'. Bristow's observation, that the 'man who knows how? works for the man who knows why?'[3] generated a suspicion of Drama as promoting class-segregated know-how. This much is implied in a comment in the 'Editorial' of Dramabout:

> There appears to be no real appreciation of Drama as a subject in its own right by the instigators of the mysterious 'lifeskills' courses, merely that it is seen as a useful servicing agent designed to keep students happily occupied.[4]

As we have suggested earlier, however, this may be a short-sighted view which ignores the potential of Drama for migration across the curriculum even when its initial presence was confined to a purely instrumental role. Yet 'even inferior forms', as Williams calls them,[5] may generate individual realization and ultimately wider conflict:

> Conflict ... between particular human values and certain established definitions of human scope and purpose ... can reach out to and articulate a more general change in consciousness'.[6]

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1 See 'Illiterate 6 Million Only Tip of Iceberg', Guardian, 24 November 1987.
2 Dramabout, Spring, 1983, p. 6.
3 Bristow, p. 4.
4 Dramabout, Spring 1982, p. 3.
5 Williams, The Long Revolution, p. 298.
6 ibid.

Heathcote sees the role of Drama as providing authentic learning experiences, based on the power of questioning to change perspectives, arguing that 'by so doing Drama can and should exercise a subversive influence on received social values'.[1]

g) Drama in Special Needs: Drama and Gender Issues

Our final two areas, special needs and gender issues are ones in which Drama has an acknowledged contribution to make. Both areas are also sensitive and complex, and seen as delicate by most institutions.

Since the Warnock Report,[2] Further Education has been placed under considerable responsibility to make post school provision for both the physically and the mentally handicapped, often in association with Adult Training Centres. Drama for the mentally handicapped tends towards psychodrama and sociodrama, deploying techniques that facilitate self-exploration, enablement, and social conditioning.[3] Since the mentally handicapped are not viewed primarily in Further Education from instrumentally vocational perspectives, Drama tutors are free to pursue expressive goals alongside 'conditioning' exercises, even in institutions with a predominantly transparent milieu. This expressive element is enriching rather than in any way threatening, although themes relating to the social integration of the handicapped often lie just below surface.

Drama for the physically handicapped presents an entirely different set of problems. Both national and local institutions,[4] including British Actors' Equity, support in principle the rights of the disabled

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1 Heathcote, in Wheale, p. 52.

2 D.E.S., Special Educational Needs: Report of the Committee of Enquiry into the Education of Handicapped Children and Young People, (Warnock Report), London, H.M.S.O., 1978.

3 See, for example, Chapter Five 'Case Study of Sutton Coldfield College of Further Education', in which College Drama personnel work in association with Ebrook Day Centre and Residential Homes.

4 Richard Tomlinson, Disability, Theatre and Education, Souvenir Press, London, 1982, 'Introduction', pp. 1-8.

in Drama and Theatre. Students of Herewood College of Further Education for handicapped school-leavers in Coventry, for example, use the focus of 'theatrical' exploration in direct confrontation with the 'management'[1] of congenital or accidental disability. This orientation implies that practical and instrumental considerations tend to overshadow potential expressive agendas. A related practical problem is that few Further Education colleges were built to accommodate disability and modifications to buildings have been spasmodic. Drama areas, in particular, often remain bounded by stairs, galleries, narrow aisles and long corridors.[2]

Neither do Drama 'texts' easily accommodate the physically handicapped student. Attempts to generate 'disabled scores' have at best met equivocal responses, given that unsophisticated audiences might, even today, be 'slightly repelled by the sight of the physically handicapped'.[3] Some recent statements in this area intentionally shock, like the following from the Secretary of a Trust established in 1988 to support disabled students in Further Education:

> We're a bit sick of thinking that the greatest height to which we could aspire is to play Jo Egg in a really realistic production in which the Director will receive tumultuous applause for his 'insightful courage'.[4]

Part of the ambivalence comes from posing questions of whether producers should attempt 'handicapped versions' of texts, perhaps with half-an-eye to Anthony Sher's Richard III on crutches. Tomlinson was clearly uncomfortable with a version of Everyman that took this route:

> The very first 'real' script that we attempted (in 1973) was an adaptation of Everyman, the traditional medieval morality play. It was to be full of symbolism and ritual and would use the actors' disabilities deliberately as part of the characterisation ... The character of Confession was played

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1 Erving Goffman, Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity, Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1968, Chapter One.
2 Transcript of interview with G.M. Webster, (Secretary: Parity Trust), 27 July 1989.
3 Tomlinson, Disability, Theatre and Education, p. 38.
4 Transcript of interview with G.M. Webster, 27 July 1989.

> by a severely disabled student who had cerebral palsy. This not only confined him to a wheelchair, but also affected his speech, so that at times it was unintelligible ... Confession came over as irritable and disreputable; his arms and legs flew everywhere, speech of a sort came out in great gobbets of spit, and Everyman backed away in some distaste ...
>
> This scene of the play worked well probably because the humour in it was obvious. But at the time, I think, we were a little disillusioned, as we felt the experiment to prove that disabled people could provide meaningful Drama had rather failed.[1]

Perhaps problems of dissociating process from product bedevils Theatre for the disabled.

Another issue arises from the conditions governing grants from the Training Commission. Finance is available for the disabled in vocational areas of Theatre support (for example, lighting, sound, carpentry, administration and front-of-house[2]), but not for students on academic or professional routes (for example, 'A' level Theatre Studies, BTEC Diplomas in the Performing Arts). Thus even financial support is loaded towards an instrumental setting, even within a single institution.[3] YTS and Employment Training offer another financed route for the disabled, although stigmatized as second rate. College Drama lecturers sometimes argue, a little disingenuously, that funds acquired in this way in effect subsidise non-vocational Drama and ensure its survival.[4] If this really happens, the implication in terms of the two-by-two dichotomy is that Box 4 can be used in an internal adjustment to subsidise Box 1; this would qualify as a ploy designed to readjust the ideology of provision at the point of delivery, but one further disadvantaging the disabled, who are on the wrong side of the 'subsidy'.

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1 Tomlinson, Disability, Theatre and Education, pp. 41-42.
2 Parity Trust, Projected Programme, Durham, 1989, p. 4.
3 Transcript of Interview with G.M. Webster, 27 July 1989.
4 See for example, transcript of Interview with Gerald McNally, Senior Lecturer in Drama, Newcastle College, October 1989.

When we turn to gender issues, the role of Drama is again seen as equivocal, although for quite different reasons. Further Education, being vocational and instrumental, and possessing a legacy stretching back to times when the social reproduction of gender relationships was achieved in effortlessly patriarchal terms, has always evidenced considerable apathy towards women. Certainly Further Education institutions are rarely held up as shining examples of equal opportunities employment, and their ethos is male-dominated if not 'machismo'. Their generally transparent milieux consistently marginalise women and avoid feminist issues. Finn has argued that even 'modest' career demands from female school and college leavers meet, in male dominated sectors, only 'chilling results',[1] although sacrificial femininity opens up dubious opportunities in the so-called 'caring occupations' which are romanticized in Further Education (for example, Nursing, Nursery Nursing, working with children and the elderly, secretarial[2], receptionist work and so on). As Finn puts it:

> For many young working class women, job choices made on this basis have the paradoxical effect of making marriage all the more necessary to escape from the low paid and monotonous work they have initially accepted.[3]

Subordination to patriarchal dominance is considered one of the requirements of successful female adaptation:

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1 Dan Finn, 'Leaving School and Growing Up: Work Experience in the Juvenile Labour Market', in Inge Bates, John Clarke, Philip Cohen, Dan Finn, Robert Moore and Paul Willis, Schooling For the Dole, London, Macmillan, 1984, pp. 30-31.

2 National Awards and Prizes like the London Chamber of Commerce, City and Guilds Institute, Royal Society of Arts, are awarded to high achieving secretarial students.

3 Dann Finn, 'Leaving School and Growing Up: Work Expereince in the Juvenile Labour Market', Inge Bates, John Clarke, Philip Cohen, Dan Finn, Robert Moore and Paul Willis, Schooling For the Dole, London Macmillan, 1984, p. 26.

> Even if you feel you know your boss's job as well as he, never say it. You'll be demoted instantly.[1]

It is possible to assert, with Morris, that a genuine commitment to feminist theory and practice does not exist outside of the bastions of academic study at the highest level.[2] The presence of Drama, however, with its potential to challenge experience by imaginatively projecting its issues, and its capacity for social and cultural critique based on its expressive roots, might lead one to look to it for the seeds of change, particularly as feminist Theatre is flourishing at least on the fringes (in the Theatrical sense) in the outside world.

One untroubled outpost of the male-dominated world of Further Education is its 'A' level Theatre Studies courses. Yet in spite of some accommodation towards modern or experimental Drama, the syllabus has remained virtually untouched by feminist concerns.[3] In part this reflects the masculinised 'high culture' which fails to recognize women's achievement:

> [Women] are psychologically excluded ... and their access made extremely difficult ... The Arts which are held up to women as the pinnacle of human achievement are, at the same time, perhaps by definition, withheld from them.[4]

Women, also, tend to find themselves studying plays with few decent female roles, even at the level of 'performance'. The same 'social organization' of artistic production that 'excluded women from participating' also, according to Wolff, left them deskilled in their ability to respond:

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1 Richard Allen, Francis Aprahamian (editor), Madeleine Arnot, et al, The Changing Experience of Women, U221, Open University Press, Milton Keynes, 1983.

2 Meaghan Morris, The Pirate's Fiancee: Feminism, Reading, Postmodernism, Verso, London, 1988, p. 8.

3 N.A.T.F.H.E., Dramabout, 'Editorial', Spring, 1982.

4 Susan Kippax, 'Women as Audience' in Media Culture and Society, Vol. 10, No. 1, January 1988, pp. 5-22, pp. 19-20.

Women are rendered unsure of their response to the arts.[1]

In terms of the two-by-two dichotomy, the implication is that the cultural reproduction of gender relations, at least in academic Theatre Studies, has tended to re-direct Drama from its expressive critical possibility (Box 4) towards a Box 2 position in which its practices 'agree' to reinforce the institution's stable assumptions.

There is a more optimistic picture when we turn to impromptu Drama in General Studies or Social Studies courses, where these issues can be picked up, and in Media-based courses. One of the most notable arenas for feminist critical awareness is Media Education, particularly as it deals with a cultural decoding of Television or advertising. A 'serious' study of popular Media goes beyond 'chat shows, talking heads ... and media jokes about poststructuralism',[2] to real engagement with gender issues, not least through feminist satire.[3] Extempore Drama is harder to 'contain' than other forms, since it is not subject to preordinate planning. The case study of Sutton Coldfield College of Further Education offers one or two examples of impromptu Drama touching on gender as well as class consciousness, but overall the picture in Further Education is distinctly patchy, possibly because of all the messages it relays as part of its social and cultural reproduction, the gender divide is the one that it perpetuates the most successfully.

We next turn to a more detailed consideration of some contemporary conflicts in Further Education, paying particular attention to the place which Drama plays in them. By examining all of the Further Education

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1 Janet Wolff, The Social Production of Art, London, Macmillan, 1981, pp. 44-45.

2 Morris, The Pirate's Fiancee, p. 10.

3 Humour is a part of the student consciousness, see Aidan White (editor), Naked Ape 2: An Anthology of Sexism collected by the Guardian, Duckworth, London, 1982.

colleges in a single Local Education Authority, bound by local conditions to adopt a competitive stance against each other, we may be able to see how Drama works in specific milieux.

4. Drama in Local Further Education: The City of Birmingham

a) The Nine City Colleges

This section looks briefly at all of the colleges in a single Local Education Authority, in an attempt to trace how the various cross-currents affecting Further Education, which we have noted already, impact differentially in creating an individual milieu for each college. We then explore further how Drama is caught up in the resultant tensions between the colleges. The Section also sets the scene for a detailed analysis of Sutton Coldfield College of Further Education. All nine of the Birmingham City colleges fall within the category of 'other maintained and assisted major establishments'.[1] All are also subject to equitable rate-borne funding, a condition suggesting a parity of provision and prestige between the colleges. But even superficial analysis demonstrates the extent to which the nine city colleges have developed highly discrete identities. It may be useful to offer at this point a brief 'pen portrait' of each college.

In terms of space, capitation allowances, range of courses and overall number of students, Matthew Boulton Technical College is the largest college in Birmingham. Faithful to its name, it has throughout its history remained tied to its tradition of specialism towards science and technology.[2] Helped by its position only one mile from the city

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1 Waitt, p. 17.

2 Matthew Boulton Technical College, Prospectus, 1987-88, Birmingham, 1987.

centre, Matthew Boulton's wide range of specialist technical courses,[1] ensures that its catchment area is unusually wide. Its purpose-built tower block, constructed in the 1970's, conveys an austere functional image of efficient service to industry and commerce, a briskness at odds with its rather drab immediate environment in which unemployment figures have been as high as 46.6%.[2] It has recently been facing problems in maintaining its market-share, and the number of its full-time students, the noted marker of a successful college,[3] was recently overtaken by a suburban college. Matthew Boulton College shows little interest in the expressive arts, least of all Drama. There is no Drama lecturer, nor full-time Drama provision.

Hall Green Technical College is situated on the southern edge of the inner-city 'ring'. Its immediate catchment area is one of high ethnic minority groupings and unemployment.[4] The College does not offer a single course which is not duplicated in other Birmingham Colleges.[5] There is neither a Drama Department, nor a full-time Drama specialist lecturer.

Garretts Green Technical College is seen by many as currently undergoing a debilitating crisis of identity. Its curriculum tradition, grounded in an over-concentration on engineering, has been undercut by the retrenchment in training places in the face of the expiration of the Birmingham motor industry. Garretts Green is situated to the west of the inner city boundary, in an area which the College itself feels is not particularly conducive in assisting it to develop diversified programmes:

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1 See Wsst Midlands Advisory Council for Further Education, Regional Register of Approved Courses, W.M.R.A.C., Birmingham, 1987.
2 City of Birmingham Planning Committee, Inner-Area Study: 1985-86, Birmingham City Council, 1986, p. 23.
3 Beryl Tipton, Conflict and Change in a Technical College, London Hutchinson, 1973, p. 4.
4 Inner Area Study, p. 2.
5 Hall Green Technical College, Prospectus 1978-88, Birmingham, 1987.

> There are not enough links between such areas as English as a second language and Adult Preparatory Training. The main problem is that the main college is too far from annexes and situated in a predominantly white working class area.[1]

Faced by falling numbers, Garretts Green has developed with suspicious haste a whole range of new interests, including Outreach work, Adult Education and ethnic minority provision. Although such provision seems to point to a shift towards a pluralistic and therefore opaque milieu, with attendant opportunities for expressive realization, particularly in the area of multi-cultural studies, there is little evidence of a change in heart, and the whole movement could also be interpreted as a ploy to ensure survival.

The College of Food and Domestic Arts is favourably situated right in the city centre itself. Although physically surrounded by the problems of the inner city, its commitment to the newly-booming service industries allies it with what Hall and Diamond call 'success through innovation, adaption and 'new-firm' growth'.[2] Indeed, its specialist expertise taps opportunistically one of the few economic growth areas in the Midlands. The College's importance in training for the service industry is perhaps indicated in its recent association with the City of Birmingham Polytechnic. Its milieu is openly instrumental and transparent.

Handsworth Technical College is situated in the city area of highest social tension, notorious for the so-called 'riots' and the simmering racial conflict described in detail in the Silverman Report.[3] The College is housed in older and more dilapidated buildings than any

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1 Birmingham English Language Support Teachers, Minutes of Meeting held on Matthew Boulton Technical College on 7 March 1988.

2 Peter Hall and Derek Diamond, 'A Research Agenda' in The Inner City Context, pp. 132-152, p. 139.

3 See Julius Silverman, Independent Inquiry into the Handsworth Disturbances: September 1985, Birmingham, City of Birmingham February, 1986.

other of the Birmingham colleges, although much of its programme is carried out in other locations such as Community Centres, Outreach Centres and Adult Education Centres.[1] Much of the mainstream provision of the College is concerned with minority needs, including English Language support, Leisure and Recreation programmes and 'drop in' facilities for the unemployed.[2] The College fully recognizes, morally and practically, that its milieu cannot be work-orientated, since the majority of its clients are the long-term unemployed. At the most basic level pluralistic awareness resulting in opaque environmentalism is forced upon the College by its multi-ethnic environment, in which racial tensions run high. Although there is no Drama department, there is evidence of considerable dramatic activity, particularly at an informal level, both in the classroom and in preparation for community events.[3]

Bournville College of Art, like the College of Food and Domestic Arts, is a specialist establishment, but in contrast its specialism suggests a much greater potential for expressive realization across the Arts, and not just in Art. It is situated, together with Bournville College of Further Education, at the southern city limits in an environment which is highly reminiscent of Smailes' phrase 'pseudo-rural.'[4] Given the physical distance from the city's entropic concerns, and the potentially expressive nature of Art, it might be expected that this College could have escaped the dominance of transparent

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1 Handsworth Technical College, Prospectus: 1987-1988, Handsworth Birmingham, 1987.
2 ibid.
3 Interview with R Hollyhock (ex-Principal) Handsworth Technical College, 18th November, 1986.
4 Smailes, 'The Definition and Measurement of Urbanization', p. 13.

instrumentalism. But the emphasis on commercial art, expressed through BTEC courses, and Computer Aided Design,[1] merely gave the transparent instrumental ideology of Further Education a new focus.

Brooklyn Technical College is on the north of the inner city 'circle', and like the other Technical Colleges, its provision has faced redundancy in the declining industrial context. Its highly utilitarian physical appearance and extensive work-shop facilities are now at odds with the small-scale and sometimes short-lived experiments in Marketing, Management, Drama and other courses[2] that the College has developed in its quests for new markets to serve.

Sutton Coldfield College of Further Education is at the northern-most point of Birmingham, in an affluent suburban area. It has more full-time students that any other Birmingham College. Its course provision is very wide, and it maintains courses 'particularly in engineering',[3] which are no longer viable in other Colleges because of the economic decline. In addition, the College maintains an Art School, a Business Studies Section, Courses in Nursery Nursing and Catering and a large Drama Department.[4] Sutton College is the subject of the case study in Chapter Five.

Bournville College of Further Education shares many points of comparison with Sutton Coldfield College of Further Education, even to a similarity in external appearances; both buildings are low-rise, constructed in the 1970's. Like Sutton, Bournville enjoys a 'garden' setting on the fringe of Birmingham. Its wide curriculum provision ranges from an established Language Support Service, still rare in even

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1 See Bournville College of Art, Prospectus 1987-88, Birmingham 1987.
2 See Brooklyn Technical College, Prospectuses, 1986-1987 and 1987-1988, Birmingham, 1986 and 1987.
3 Sutton Coldfield College of Further Education, Development Plan and Annual Programme, 1987-90, Birmingham, 1987, p. 1.
4 See S.C.C.F.E., Prospectus 1987-1988, Birmingham, 1988.

the inner-city colleges,[1] to Floristry, and Education for the Deaf and Physically Handicapped.[2] The College has a large and well-established Drama Department.

It will be clear from this brief account that each college is attempting to fulfil a particular customized niche, although not necessarily the one it would have chosen. In a real sense, too, in spite of internal specialization, there is competition between the colleges, not entirely ameliorated by city-wide policy, and other sources of tension. It is to this that we next turn before considering the role of Drama in Further Education across the city.

b) Sources of Tension Between the Colleges

Two of the colleges are to some extent the victims of their own success, and have attracted responses that might not unreasonably be attributed to the politics of envy.

Bournville and Sutton Colleges of Further Education have more students and courses than either buildings or staff can cope with, whilst colleges such as Brooklyn and Garretts Green are relatively over-staffed.[3] The Local Education Authority moved in partial recognition of the problem in 1986 by redeploying members of staff to Bournville and Sutton from other colleges.[4] The embarrassing disparities in staffing, courses, student numbers, and above all perceived notions of quality between colleges led to the Local Education Authority's three year plan, issued on 13 March 1986, which sought 'to avoid duplication of resources' and build on the existing specializations.[5] The policy, as stated,

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1 Matthew Boulton Technical College, Minutes of Meeting of English Language Support Teachers, 7 March, 1988, Birmingham, p. 2.
2 West Midlands Advisory Council Directory 1987-1988, p. 64.
3 N.A.T.F.H.E., Redeployment Agreement, Birmingham, 1986.
4 ibid.
5 Birmingham City Council, Report and Accounts: 1985-1986, Birmingham, 1986, p. 31.

remained a pipe-dream, for not only did academic courses and subjects continue to be duplicated, but also the preciously few industrial training places were somewhat prodigally sited in colleges which were already over-subscribed. Sutton, for example, is currently the only Birmingham college to offer basic training schemes for the Engineering Industry Training Board and the Electricity Supply Industry Training Council.[1] Bournville is the only Birmingham college to offer a course for nursing cadets.[2]

The development of the Birmingham colleges seems to be as much a product of the informal and individual growth and identity of each college, as the product of central policy. As Tipton suggests, the pattern is one of colleges being able actively to manipulate various cross-currents to create a successful establishment:

> It is an unreal interpretation to regard the individual college's part in its development as an entirely passive one.[3]

Contrary to popular suspicions, neither Bournville College nor Sutton College receive any more rate-borne support than other Birmingham colleges.[4] At both city and institutional level, the success of courses and high student numbers, together with a resulting economic efficiency, are more accurately attributed to student demand:

> The reason for the lowest cost per student hour at the college is the excessively high demand for all courses. This applies to areas of work such as engineering which have become defunct in other Birmingham colleges.[5] To complement the city's overall economic strategy by meeting the training needs of the local labour market, there is a change in emphasis from an institutional 'course based' system to a client-centred service.[6]

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1 S.C.C.F.E., Annual Programme: 1986-1987, Birmingham, 1986, p. 7.
2 Regional Directory, p. 64.
3 Beryl F.Tipton, Conflict and Change in a Technical College, p. 4.
4 Birmingham Further Education Division of the Education Committee, quoted in Annual Programme, p. 6.
5 Annual Programme, p. 6.
6 Birmingham, City Council Report, p. 37.

As Tipton has pointed out, however, the term 'student demand', although rhetorically powerful, is a vague one. It is too simplistic to ascribe a popular college's development as responsive 'in an automatic manner' to requests that 'emerge spontaneously from among the community'.[1] Student demand is not a property of the environment, and colleges need to create the taste by which they are enjoyed. As Tipton puts it:

> there is no surety that a college would be immediately faced by a body of potential users. There seems little doubt that it would have to make known its presence in the community and, to some degree at least, induce a demand for its courses.[2]

There is also plenty of evidence that success breeds success. In Birmingham, those colleges which have achieved a high record of student demand acquire a kind of credibility which then assists further entrepreneurial moves. Bournville and Sutton Colleges continue to be allowed to offer courses and subjects in direct competition with the other colleges, including the Certificate for Pre-Vocational Education, and the BTEC Business Awards.

It must be said, also, that some of the prestige attaches to the way in which a college is designated in its title. The two so-called 'Colleges of Further Education' in Birmingham carry an aura which is perceived as in general superior to the imagery of the 'Technical Colleges.' This discrepancy has been tacitly acknowledged by the Local Education Authority's attempt to minimise the effects of the labelling by re-designating all Birmingham colleges in a way that avoids these 'markers'.[3] At least one alert Technical College, Garretts Green, conducted an exercise in anticipatory socialization and unofficially dropped the term 'Technical' from its literature,[4] with an ensuing public

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1 Tipton, p. 5.
2 ibid.
3 Annual Programme, p. 10.
4 See for example Garretts Green Technical College Prospectus.

debate.[1] The Authority's current ruling Labour group is committed to a 'Tertiary' or 'Community College' redesignation, in line with their restructuring policy.

More significantly, perhaps, the city used one of the Further Education colleges as its 'sample' or 'model' in marketing strategies, a choice that proved particularly controversial. A confidential circular of December, 1986, relating to Birmingham's Further Education marketing enterprises in the Far East (Hong Kong), emphasized that the identity of the sample college should not be revealed.[2] That such a defensive ploy was thought necessary testifies to the tension between the Technical Colleges and the Colleges of Further Education. Many staff from the Technical Colleges regard the Further Education colleges as unfairly advantaged, and the situation ripe for positive discrimination. For example, the minutes of an inter-college meeting held at the City Council's Education Offices reveal that during discussions regarding Birmingham's submission to the European Social Fund, Technical College staff went on the record arguing that Sutton and Bournville should stand aside and allow the 'more urgent needs' of the Technical Colleges to be met.[3]

The perception of Sutton and Bournville as 'elitist' institutions is related to perceptions of their immediate geographical environments, and certainly both exhibit some erosion of the instrumentalism of Further Education through a willingness to espouse, or at least reflect, 'broader' middle-class values in aspects of their curriculum provision. Both have surroundings in stark contrast to the declining industrial

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1 'College's New Go-Ahead Image Hailed', Birmingham Evening Mail, 25 August, 1987, p. 7.

2 City of Birmingham LEA, Continuing Education Division, Circular: 'Marketing in the Far East', December, 1986.

3 Minutes of a meeting held at Baskerville House, Birmingham, 5 July, 1985, p.2.

heartland of Birmingham itself. Bournville, as the name suggests, is associated with the solid Quaker prosperity of the Cadbury family, with its paternalistic concern for the education, living conditions and welfare of the workers. The area continues to reflect this origin, with broad green avenues, comfortable housing and the absence of any licensed premises. Education has always been highly valued in Bournville, and the College also gains prestige by association, lying close to the campus shared by the University of Birmingham, the Medical School and King Edward's Grammar Schools. Also in close proximity lie the Selly Oak Colleges, founded by George Cadbury in conjunction with the National Adult School Union and the Workers' Educational Association in 1909.[1] The early concern for both general and artistic education for the working classes, described by a Cadbury historian as a 'strange mixture of radical reforming zeal and the evangelical spirit to help raise their class', is reflected today in the combination of Bournville's College of Further Education and its College of Art.[2]

Sutton College also possesses affiliations which are distinct from the city identity. Until the county reorganization of 1974, Sutton Coldfield lay within the administrative county of Warwickshire. Both the town and the College still reflect a solid county prosperity which appears superficially closer to rural Warwickshire than to the urban problems of Birmingham.[3] How these factors historically influenced the development of the Further Education curriculum at Sutton College, and Drama's place within it, will be examined in some depth in the Case Study that forms the next Chapter of this thesis.

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1 Wilfred H. Leighton, Fircroft: 1909-1959, Birmingham, Fircroft College Trust, 1959, p. 1.
2 ibid., pp. 1-2.
3 A.M.MacFarlane, Moat House: An Architectural Booklet, Sutton Coldfield: Sutton Coldfield Teachers' Centre, 1982, p12.

c) Placing the Colleges in the Two-by-Two Dichotomy

Readers will recall that in Chapter One an interpretive scheme was put forward based on a two-by-two dichotomy. We now map the Birmingham Colleges on to the framework, thereby suggesting that each college demonstrates sufficient specific and particularistic institutional characteristics that they might be theoretically 'allocated' to different 'boxes' of the two-by-two dichotomy. The asserted 'placings' of the colleges in the two-by-two dichotomy does not depend only upon the judgements of the writer reflected in the 'pen portraits' presented above, but also upon a crude analytical device which sought to aggregate more general perceptions of each college's role and identity, subjecting the analysis to peer group validation. A group of College principals joined by the Senior Coordinator of the West Midlands Advisory Council, a lecturer in Business Studies from Sutton Coldfield College of Further Education and the Authority's senior TRIST/GRIST coordinator were asked to place each college on each of the dichotomies, following some elaboration of their implications.[1] Minimal use of Drama-based pedagogies in non-expressive subject areas were to be delineated as 'instrumental'. Remarkably, there was total agreement among the group that the allocations were accurate, although the exercise was conducted 'blind' without the participants being aware of the provisional attribution made by the writer.[2]

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1 Although the concept defining the dichotomies were refined during the course of the study, the elaborations in ordinary prose offered at the time allow us to take the view that the peer group validation stands, although perhaps a little more tentatively. The issue is whether the peer group selected would argue with the redesignation of the milieu dichotomy as between 'transparent' or 'opaque'. We think it unlikely that our interpretation would be challenged by the original respondents.

2 The terms of the two dichotomies were elaborated in conversation as a preliminary to the exercise.

In looking at the 'boxes' to which colleges were allocated, an initial assertion is that only two of the nine Birmingham Colleges seem happily secure and content in Box 1. The College of Food and Domestic Art and Matthew Boulton Technical College have clearly-defined transparent top-down milieux which are supported by instrumental teaching roles. Hall Green may be located less securely in the same box or cluster, but with falling numbers threatening its stability.

By reason of its setting, Handsworth Technical College seems better placed in Box 3. This is not an easy situation. Pluralistic tensions have to be recognised and the milieu will inevitably be affected by pluralistic and differentiated concerns. Educative roles will, however, tend strongly to be instrumental rather than genuinely expressive, not least because the College is politically bound to seek to contain the potential volatility of its environment. Brooklyn Technical College also seems to reside in this box. It seems to be striving to exist by encouraging culturally opaque forms of sponsorship, without necessarily questioning the predominantly instrumental nature of its teaching. Interestingly, although Bournville College of Art might be expected to be placed in Box 4, instrumental and work-related needs, expressed through the movement away from fine to commercial art, make it likely that the College is better placed in Box 2, where expressive education may be held in check by a transparent top-down milieu. Garretts Green also seems appropriately placed in this box. Radical elements among the staff, revealed as much by the determined change of title as by anything else, have ensured that access, at least, to expressive education is obtainable. However, a lack of pluralistic interests which could provide alternative forms of finance for the development of a truly opaque or pluralistic milieu forces the College back to dependency upon a

rate-borne economy with consequent limitations upon expansion and entrepreneurial development. In Box 4, therefore, we have only the two Colleges of Further Education, Sutton Coldfield and Bournville.

FIGURE 1

BIRMINGHAM COLLEGES ACROSS THE TWO-BY-TWO DICHOTOMY

		ROLES OF DRAMA	
		INSTRUMENTAL	EXPRESSIVE
INSTITUTIONAL MILIEU	TRANSPARENT	College of Food Matthew Boulton 1 Hall Green T.C.	Bournville College of Art 2 Garretts Green T.C.
	OPAQUE	Handsworth T.C. 3 Brooklyn T.C.	Bournville College of F.E. 4 Sutton Coldfield College of F.E.

We next turn to an analysis of the roles of Drama in the Birmingham colleges to see whether there is any reverberation between the activities noted and the general characteristics of the colleges.

d) Drama in the Colleges

The final stage of this account of the Birmingham Colleges of Further Education involves tracing the position of Drama in each of them, in order to adjudicate the extent to which they confirm the theoretical model for dichotomised Drama in a dichotomised setting implicit in the elaboration of the two-by-two analysis offered in Chapter One.

Bournville and Sutton are the only Colleges to offer full-time Advanced Level courses in Drama and Theatre Arts in Birmingham.[1] Interviews with staff from other colleges in the City reveal that there is a perception of iconic elitism associated with Drama and Theatre Arts

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[1] Regional Directory, pp. 64-68.

which has become sharply associated with the colleges in which they are practised. The association of both Bournville and Sutton with Drama has been attributed over-simplistically to their 'superior' catchment areas and facilities. This is illustrated in the following extracts from interviews with staff:

> It's just a modern fashion, a bandwagon that earns status and money.
>
> Well, you can expect Sutton to have its arty-farty connections can't you? Look where it is - in the middle of Four Oaks private estate.
>
> Bournville likes to pretend that they're better than all the rest. They can afford to. Yes, they can display their Art and their Drama and their Special Needs, but they don't have to do the bread and butter work do they?[1]

Such views have a dubious claim to be the product of considered judgement but they are nonetheless widely held.

Some interesting points arise about the highly-profiled involvement of Drama in Further Education's minority concerns which require subtle interpretation. Bournville, for example, allies its dramatic and artistic resources to the growing community requirement for 'Special Needs' in the Further Education sector.[2] In Birmingham, the only other full time Further Education Drama specialist is employed at Sutton College.[3] He also became the victim of the same type of criticism aimed at the full-time Drama specialist at Bournville College, as he recorded:

> I am viewed, in general, as something of an eccentric. In spite of my experience with the National Theatre, and more pertinently as Drama adviser to Lancashire, (incidentally I initiated the Drama/Theatre course at Manchester Polytechnic) I gain the impression that I am viewed as something of a

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1 Interviews with staff at Brooklyn Technical College (17 October 1986 and 4 December 1986) and Garretts Green (15 June 1987).

2 National Bureau for Handicapped Students, Information Series No.5, London, N.B.H.S., 1984, p. 14.

3 Letter from Staff Inspector: Mr Hawksworth, 12 October, 1986.

> dilettante - an undesirable necessity within the mainstream Further Education system. I give desirable publicity at the measured risk of undesirable notoriety.[1]

Interestingly, Sutton College also allies its Drama provision with high profile community needs. Like Bournville College, Sutton College is involved with Special Needs Education, its particular emphasis being towards the mentally handicapped. Working in conjunction with an Adult Training Unit for the mentally handicapped,[2] Sutton College's contribution lies in its provision of Educational Drama. This is organized and taught by the full-time Drama specialist, and is far from perceived as a peripheral curriculum concern. It is seen as a large scale commitment involving a considerable investment of teaching hours, and a supporting residential summer school, which is routinely documented on video-tape.[3] In addition to its provision of Educational Drama for the mentally handicapped, Sutton College's Drama resources and facilities are closely allied to ethnic minority concerns. Birmingham's general provision of anti-racist, multicultural Further Education has received high profile, high priority attention only since the racial disturbances of 1985, as the Silverman Report records.[4] Yet Sutton College's involvement with ethnic minority concerns pre-dates the City's recent reprioritization. The College demonstrated its practical links with Black Theatre and Community Theatre as early as the mid 1970s. Examples of Sutton's active liaison between its Drama provision and ethnic minority concerns has included interaction between College and inner-city community activities[5], the use of Drama students in

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1 Interview with Lecturer II in charge of Speech and Drama, 12 January 1987. See 'List of Interviewees' in Methodological Appendix.
2 Ebrook Day Centre, Sutton Coldfield.
3 Videotape No 1, Bath Summer School, August 1985.
4 Julius Silverman, Independent Inquiry Into the Handsworth Disturbance: September 1985, Birmingham, City of Birmingham, February, 1986.
5 Example: Sutton College Youth Theatre.

production/direction of media channels concerned with minority and ethnic education,[1] an interchange of staff with inner-city colleges specifically intended to enlarge Drama's commitment,[2] and a widened provision for the education of ethnic minority groups, including an inner-city targetted Pre-Vocational course and a special Access Course for overseas students in conjunction with the University of Warwick.[3]

All of these activities suggest that the Colleges of Sutton and Bournville have institutionalized programmes and arrangements apparently exhibiting a social and moral conscience, in a spirit perceived by the Birmingham Colleges as not unlike that of 'Polyanna'. The alternative version is that the two 'privileged' colleges can afford the 'luxury' of expressing social concern because they are not having to deal on a day-to-day basis with the sharp end of the problems of unemployment, drug-taking or racism. This attitude is best summarized in a phrase taken from the interview above, 'but they don't have to do the bread and butter work do they?'[4] We need to interpret the ostensible 'anti-Drama' attitudes which persistently seem to emerge from Birmingham colleges with some care, for underlying the sometimes heated insults hurled at Drama from staff in non-Drama colleges ('Its only a subject for ponces',[5] being a not untypical comment) there lurk broader class-related tensions and even an element of professional envy. As we have seen, the prevailing ideology in Further Education is one of instrumentalism. In their Drama provision Sutton College and Bournville College are openly

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1 Waseem Mahmood, Producer, BBC Pebble Mill, Birmingham.
2 Example, Gloria Patrick, Trinidadian-origin LII, Multicultural Unit, moved from Handsworth Tech. March 1985.
3 'Access' Course, Sutton to Warwick University, beginning September 1988.
4 From Transcript of Interview with member of staff from Garretts Green College, 15 June, 1987.
5 From Transcript of Interview with Member of Staff from Garretts Green College, 15 June, 1987.

flouting the generally accepted 'social activity and identity'[1] of the Technical College by at least the apparent public espousal of expressive aims. If Further Education is a means of proletarian education in which expressive aims have traditionally been suspect, it does not seem too far-fetched to anticipate that Drama might attract counter-hegemonic labelling and be treated in consequence as deviant, properly subject to social control by snide comments and dismissive humour. In this version, its expressiveness gets seen as limp-wristed ponciness while its potential for subversive critique is reduced to posturing.

Paradoxically, it is true across the city for a variety of reasons that the contemporary play texts dealing with 'problematic' cultural groups are the ones most likely to find their way into Further Education colleges, often by indirect routes in 'Communication' or 'Media Studies' courses, or thematic studies in courses dealing with racial problems.[2] Two sources of such input are networked television, plays such as the Television Literacy Project Rhino,[3] or through touring Theatre performances which 'target' students of Further Education with plays such as Motherland.[4] Self-evidently these plays offer different cultural perspectives. First there are those plays which address cultural problems (such as political, gender or racial conflict) from the

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1 Michael Hepworth 'Deviants in Disguise: Blackmail and Social Acceptance', in Stanley Cohen, (editor) Images of Deviance, Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1971, pp. 192-218, p. 203.

2 Carl Lorac and Michael Weiss, Communication and Social Skills: Schools Council Communication and Social Skills Project, London, Wheaton, 1974, p. 113.

3 David Leland, Rhino, Television Literacy Project, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1986, (First transmitted 5 July, 1983). Video cassette available to Further Education Colleges through Concord Films.

4 'Motherland', devised by Motherland Company, first performed at the Oval House Theatre, Kennington, London, on 9 July, 1982, reprinted in, Elyse Dodgson, Motherland: West Indian Women to Britain in the 1950s, London, Heinemann Educational, 1984, pp. 67-97.

'outside', looking inwards to the problem, preserving a sense of distance between the play and the problems which it purports to examine. Such works are often incorporated into existing teaching programmes, where they are frequently associated with the current emphasis on 'communication skills' and 'social adaptability'.[1] Essentially, these plays perform the 'reconciliatory' function consistent with culture reproductive theory, rather than issuing any reconstructionist cultural challenge. Leland's Rhino, for example, is a competent, intense, but humourless account of a black teenager's personal conflict with authority, as the following extract indicates:

> Juvenile Court:
>
> Present: Various Court Officials, Clerk, Policewoman involved in the arrest, three magistrates with Lady Walford in the centre. Also present is Angie's social worker, Joyce Barker. Angie's father is there. Angie is very confused by the event. She only hears about 25% of what is said, the rest of it goes over her head. A common reaction.[2]

The phrase underlined in this extract is characteristic of what might be termed the 'social conscience' plays of which Rhino is undoubtedly a paradigm example. They tend to 'patronize' and to regard cultural problems as isolated transient phenomena which have no particular moral connection with a stable and 'blameless' hegemony. Although Rhino ostensibly draws attention to the problems of truancy, care orders, and juvenile detention, the principal character, Angie, creates no personal empathy. She is a type, 'a common reaction'.[3] It is not possible to relate easily to her. Moreover, the audience is constantly reminded of Angie's personal inadequacy, rather than the inadequacy of the social system:

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1 Communication and Social Skills, p. 113.
2 Leland, Rhino, p. 67.
3 Leland, Rhino, p. 67.

> Jellis: There's nothing constructive in her basic attitude. You talk to her, reason with her, and she nods, but she's actually being very obstructive because she just goes on in her own sweet way.[1]

Although Rhino forms a part of the 'Television Literacy Project', which ensures a wide and captive Further Education audience, the 'teeth' of its central character have been drawn. This text has been used by students in Brooklyn Technical College, Handsworth Technical College and Garretts Green College, generally as a part of Liberal Studies provision or related to information about technical aspects of television play-production in Media Studies.[2]

The second 'stream' of plays concerned with political, gender or racial conflict has a different tone and register, and performs, ultimately, a different cultural function in the Further Education context. Instead of external comment on perceived 'problems', these plays are critical examinations of cultural systems from the viewpoint of oppressed sub-groups. They respect the form and purpose described by Lukacs as 'dynamic reflections of reality', because they essentially reveal underlying patterns of contradiction in the social order.[3]

Maponya's The Hungry Earth, for example, is not only dynamic in function, since it is a portrayal and study of class/race conflict, it is also 'dynamic' in form as the Preface reveals:

> The Hungry Earth was created for the Bahumutsi Drama Group. It was first performed in Soweto in 1979, and has been continuously modified in performance since. The text envisages five actors, but can be performed by three - as on Bahumutsi's 1981 British tour.[4]

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1 Leland, Rhino, p. 57.
2 Birmingham Local Education Authority, Roy Hawksworth (Drama Adviser), Letter to writer, 18 June, 1988.
3 Raman Selden, A Reader's Guide to Contemporary Literary Theory, Brighton, Harvester Press, 1985, pp. 28-29.
4 Maishe Maponya, The Hungry Earth, London, Polypton, 1981, p. 4.

In contrast to the affirmation of personal inadequacy which we could regard as class or racial distinction in Rhino, The Hungry Earth issues a direct challenge to the dominant order on behalf of a minority group:

> It moves me greatly to finally announce my deepermost feelings of excitement as Black Theatre makes an indelible mark at home and abroad. Whether our critics accept it or not, it remains a fact that Theatre for a purpose carries much more weight, because it is a mirror and a voice of the dispossessed. It has a direction. Black Theatre is a Theatre that will not subscribe to commercial slogans; it has to survive amidst all odds.[1]

Furthermore, the characters in The Hungry Earth cannot be simply characterized, labelled and conveniently dismissed as being 'social inadequates' as Angie is in Rhino:

> Angie gets into the bath. She stands, motionless, her back to the two women. She turns towards them. There is a coldness in her eye we have not seen before.[2]

The problems in The Hungry Earth are not seen as a result of personal inadequacy, but as a consequence of a cultural system which systematically divides and differentiates between individuals, in order to retain power and reinforce the existing status quo. In The Hungry Earth and in Motherland[3], sympathy is moved beyond the limits of 'here and now', into a more universal recognition of human predicaments, which may ultimately be seen as a 'problem' for any human being regardless of race or gender. So in Motherland, we see the poignancy of:

> Each grey hair on my head represents
> Another battle, another day, coped with
> conquered
> All by myself, England
> Is breaking you trying to break my spirit
> Why you treat me so?
> This weariness in my footsteps comes as much

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1 ibid., p. 4.
2 Leland, Rhino, p. 3.
3 'Motherland', devised by Motherland Company, first performed at the Oval House Theatre, Kennington, London on 9 July, 1982, Reprinted in Elyse Dodgson, Motherland: West Indian Women to Britain in the 1950's, London, Heinemann, 1984, pp. 67-97.

> From pain, bitterness, frustration, as it
> does from weariness[1]

This is intended not only as a reflection of racial disenchantment, but also of the wider problems created by an establishment which depends upon the subordination of the lower classes. Later in Motherland we see the unrelenting cyclical quality of cultural subordination:

> Go to bed again and
> Start all over again and
> again and again...
> England.[2]

Unlike the relatively wide access to performances of Rhino, which we have now established to be relatively 'harmless' to the dominant orthodoxy, we find that The Hungry Earth and Motherland have found only limited audiences. As we might expect, adaptations of both plays have found a 'natural' arena in Handsworth Technical College with its acute awareness of racial tensions,[3] overcoming a lack of specialist Drama facilities. The other principal arena of performance was through a combined project of the Drama section, the Multi-Cultural Unit and the Youth Theatre Group of Sutton Coldfield College of Further Education, in which textual exploration resulted in performances to both students and the wider community[4] in the form of a Drama Workshop. It is interesting to note that even textual Drama (with its connotations of being 'academically-respectable') is treated with caution by the Birmingham Further Education colleges. Although Drama texts seem to be more accessible to students that Drama practices, since we note the involvement of 'non-Drama' colleges in the textual explorations, they seem to be subject to some implicit form of censorship which guarantees

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1 'Motherland', p 75.
2 'Motherland', p. 86.
3 Adaptations of The Hungry Earth and Motherland at Handsworth Technical College, 1984-85.
4 Drama Workshop, Sutton Coldfield College of Further Education, Birmingham 29 & 30 November 1987.

that only texts compatible with hegemonic consent reach a wide range of students. 'Doubtful' texts, in terms of an unwillingness to reflect 'appropriate' cultural behaviour, seem physically confined to colleges which are either dealing on a day-to-day basis with the problems portrayed (such as Handsworth Technical College) or colleges which can 'justify' a public exploration of controversial views by drawing upon a combined effort of specialist teaching forces and specialist provision.

Finally we return to a consideration of the ostensible grounds upon which Drama can be de-valued. Interestingly, many of the terms of abuse directed against Drama and its practitioners are laden with implications of sexual deviance and perversion. Apparently the curriculum area is routinely manned by ponces, pimps, the camp, 'wankers' and 'queers'[1], terms that also appeared relatively frequently in discussions concerning Drama at Sutton College and Bournville College. Paradoxically, this climate of opinion is potentially more damaging for the colleges in Birmingham with no Drama provision, since it is proving difficult for some college personnel to stifle their hostility towards Drama even though their work is suffering from the absence of its pedagogical approaches. A lecturer in Business Studies sympathetic to Drama from Brooklyn College effectively summarised what appears to be a fairly wide-spread situation in the Birmingham colleges:

> 'Drama' is just a dirty word in the College; it seems to be connected to images of limp-wrist or indiscipline. And yet God knows, Drama is there in the syllabuses in nearly every subject. 'Role Play, Role Play, Role Play' is a requirement everywhere. But most of them here wouldn't know the difference between a roleplay and a sausage roll. I honestly do not know how they are coping with teaching the syllabuses. I think they are ignoring it, hoping it will go away. But it (Drama) isn't going to go away and some examiner or assessor

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[1] From transcript of Interview with member of staff from Garretts Green College, 15 June, 1987.

> is going to cotton on to the fact that some of the lecturers here teach 'fluency and direction'[1] in speech by making the kids read aloud in turn from an Annual Report or Hansard! They're going to have to open the closet to Drama pretty quickly.[2]

The long-standing antagonism towards Drama from many Birmingham colleges is not going to be easy to disperse, which leaves the absurd situation of courses[3] with a heavy orientation towards the pedagogies of Drama being taught in a Birmingham College with a senior member of staff declaring of Drama, 'We don't have any of that nonsense here'.[4]

Recently, however, there is some evidence of a re-evaluation of the roles of Drama. It is as yet cautious, but urgently needed for the efficient implementation of integrated curricula. Cross-city staff trainers, advisory services and most importantly of all the strategic Further Education Marketing thrust,[5] are subtly re-defining Drama. By avoiding the term 'Drama', concentrating instead on mechanistic terms like 'role play' and 'situational experiment', and firmly linking these activities to success in terms of hard cash[6], attention is being diverted away from the 'deviance' of Drama. Instead they have a more machismo language of 'successful experiments'[7] an umbrella term which lends itself more easily to the underlying instrumentalism of Birmingham's Colleges.

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1 An aim and objective commonly found in B.T.E.C. Courses.
2 Transcript of interview with Julie Roberts, Lecturer in Business Studies, Brooklyn College, 11 August, 1988.
3 For example C.P.V.E. and B.T.E.C. course.
4 From Transcript of Interview with member of staff from Garretts Green College, 15 June, 1987.
5 See for example Peter Davies and Keith Scribbens, Marketing Further and Higher Education, York, F.E.U./F.E.S.C., Longman 1985.
6 ibid.
7 Brooklyn Technical College, Internal Report on Drama, Birmingham, 1988.

CHAPTER FIVE:

SUTTON COLDFIELD COLLEGE OF FURTHER EDUCATION: A CASE STUDY

1. Introduction

In order to explicate more fully the tactics of the various players contributing to the ambivalent role of Drama in Further Education, the study now moves to an analysis of a single institution, Sutton Coldfield College of Further Education. The analysis is based on participant observation, semi-structured interviews, questionnaires, and document and audio/video-tape analysis during the period of the research, but the account is also grounded historically in its attempt to clarify the anomalies, tensions and contradictions which were noted in earlier Chapters. Sutton Coldfield College of Further Education is clearly an interesting test case for the research problem, the need to explain the continuation of the ambiguities and oppositions associated with Drama even under the theoretically more favourable conditions of Box 4 in the two-by-two dichotomy. Certainly Drama at Sutton College strongly aspires to an expressive and politically vibrant role in a setting that has all the surface characteristics of an opaque, even pluralistic milieu.

Figure 1

Sutton Coldfield of Further Education: Its Overt Position in the Two-by-Two Dichotomy

Institutional Milieu	Role of Drama: Instrumental	Role of Drama: Expressive
Transparent	1	2
Opaque	3	Sutton Coldfield 4 College of Further Education

Since Box 4 is the most 'benign' of the boxes in reducing the 'pressures' on Drama, one would anticipate substantial amelioration of the ambiguities and tensions it faces. That this is not entirely the case presents an evident challenge to the propositions under discussion, since the overtly 'opaque' milieu of Sutton Coldfield College of Further Education with its pluralistic overtones might be expected to welcome, rather than merely invite, the expressive contribution of Drama. But a fine-grain analysis reveals substantial residual tension and conflict, although, as suggested above, the problems are subtly different from those found in the other three boxes of the two-by-two dichotomy. One possible explanation is that a relatively opaque college simply shifts battle zones, defending its borders along more generously defined boundaries. Another potential explanation springs from the possibility that the category system employed in dichotomising the institutional milieu (as tending to be transparent or opaque) is itself flawed, since institutions exhibiting liberal or pluralistic surface features may be

developing a form of guile, the purpose of which is to mask implicit political intent. Strict boundaries defended tightly might require an element of coercion, while looser and apparently more generous ideological boundaries assist powerful groups in society to achieve social control and reproductive efficiency by hegemonic consent. In neo-Marxist terms, it is not sufficient that Further Education has an undeniable economic base as a reponse to society's manpower needs, it must also assert its position in cultural and ideological terms:

> Concepts of ideology, hegemony and culture should be used if relations between state, economic system and educational field are to be unravelled.[1]

Institutional claims to pluralism are not necessarily made in good faith. At root the question cannot be resolved by assertion, or choice of theoretical orientaion, but only by paying close attention to the data of the case.

Certainly there are theoretical issues. If Further Education's capacity for cultural reproduction, given its dominant instrumentality, is to survive intact in Box 4, one would expect social control by hegemonic consent to yield to social control by coercion, with Drama's expressive potential being 'allowed' up to a point, but if necessary defined as deviant. In this sense Box 4 represents the 'worst case' for 'hegemonic' theories in so far as these are predominantly consensual.

A further methodological problem comes from the likelihood that actors in the situation are not necessarily endowed with insight about the underlying structure and mechanisms involved, so their own accounts cannot be treated as definitive. As Popkewitz and Tabachnick suggest, misperceptions have consequences in action:

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[1] The International Encyclopaedia of Education, Editors in chief Torsten Husen and T. Neville Postlethwaite, Vol. 8, pp. 4698, Oxford, Pergamon, 1985.

> It is easy for people to react to their conceptions of affairs rather than the way things really are.[1]

Sharp suggests that this can distort the inferences available to the researcher:

> Too often we ignore the influence that the macro-structure is exerting - in favour of the immediate performance of the 'actors' - as perceived by participant observer... Individual conscious subjects have often only a limited understanding of the real relations that structure their social existence and the extent to which real relations are represented in ideological modes of thought arising out of specific social practices and routines.[2]

In summary, if this line of argument were to be sustained in the teeth of Box 4 conditions, it would be necessary either to collapse the boxes by not recognizing the potential pluralistic opacity of the colleges, or to advance a two-level description which concedes the surface features of the two-by-two dichotomy, but argues for the continuity of tension and contradiction at a deeper level. This draws into our analysis explanations grounded in theories of deviance and marginality. This Chapter is a detailed study of the attempts by Sutton College at various times to promote, curb, constrain and marginalise its own Drama Section.

Sutton Coldfield College of Further Education, by happy coincidence, offered the writer unusually favourable access to the research setting. It was her place of employment for a considerable period, both before and during the research. The role was that of a true participant, having a recognized role in the setting, then becoming an observer. Yet as a lecturer in Communication Studies, she was not directly involved with the teaching of Drama or Theatre Studies, and to

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1 Thomas S. Popkewitz, B. Robert Tabachnick, 'Qualitative Research: Some Thoughts About the Relation of Methodology and Social History', in Thomas S. Popkewitz, B. Robert Tabachnick, (editors), The Study of Schooling, Praeger, New York, pp. 115-178, p. 174.

2 Rachel Sharp, 'Implications for Fieldwork', in The Study of Schooling, pp112-154, pp116-117.

that extent could claim to be an 'independent' witness. Complete access to records and files, many of which were of a confidential nature, was offered and she enjoyed the full co-operation of the College management, even if they found the line of enquiry a little puzzling at times. It thus became possible to take a broad view of the eligibility of material for data collection, and design a methodologically-eclectic study. An attempt was also made to triangulate administrative records with what individual and personal documentation was available. These are important sources of information, filling a recognized gap:

> Almost all college archives are overwhelmingly bureaucratic. Often they amount to little more than a patchy record of formal decisions and precedents. They also contain what might be called 'selective gaps'. Documents relating to the actual process of teaching and learning or the formulation of policy rarely survive, whereas contracts, maps, receipts, leases and agreements, are kept for legal or practical reasons. Specimens of students' work are probably the rarest finds of all.[1]

We now take the problems and possibilities of the roles of Drama in Further Education into the actual data obtained from Sutton Coldfield College of Further Education.

2. Sutton Coldfield College of Further Education

a) Geography, Location and Identity

Falstaff:

> 'Bardolph, get thee to
> Coventry. Fill me a
> bottle of sack: our
> soldiers shall march through; we'll
> to Sutton Cofil tonight.[2]

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1 Journal of Further and Higher Education, Vol.8, No.1, Spring 1984, p. 95.

2 Shakespeare, Henry IV, Part 1.

Sutton Coldfield is an ancient town, established long before Birmingham. In her History of the Forest and Chase of Sutton Coldfield (1860), Bracken records the workings of at least six water mills for cotton, steel and wood. The early history of the town's schools directly reflects a continuity of traditional authority and culture, and a willingness to use the past as a model for continued human action, a stance which is itself traditionalist and conservative in spirit.[1] By 1825, there were at least two schools available for the children of the townspeople. The log book of the Corporation National Town School records that on the 23 January, 1826, there were twenty three children.[2] In 1825, an industrial school was established at an area called Hill (close to Mere Green, used currently as an annexe by the College). It grew rapidly, the original master being joined in 1828 by a school mistress.[3] By the turn of the century, a Technical Institute was firmly established in the premises once licensed as a public house on the Lichfield Road.[4] Although founded as a Technical School and equipped with laboratory facilities, as building plans reveal, it was more

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1 An interesting comparison may here be drawn with studies of peasant societies in which increasing literacy is seen as evidence of the stability of a powerful dominant order which is 'insuring' its own continuity. See, for example: Kazimierz Dobrowolski, 'Peasant Traditional Culture', Poland, 1958, in Teodor Shanin (ed) Peasants and Peasant Societies, Penguin Education, 1971, pp. 277-298.

2 Entry for 23 January, 1826, Log Book, Corporation Boys' and Girls' National Town School, Sutton Coldfield, National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church, Sutton Coldfield Library.

3 Jones, The Roayl Town, pp. 73-74.

4 H.M.S.O., Ordnance Survey Sheet, iv, 15, Warwickshire, Crown Copyright, 1914.

generally and popularly known as the Art School,[1] an identification which remains to this day.

Sutton College is situated at the North-Eastern boundary of the current Birmingham Local Education Authority. It is a member of the group of nine colleges governed by the Authority[2] and subject to regional control by the West Midlands Regional Advisory Council.[3]

Sutton College is bound by local policy not to replicate or compete with other colleges in the region, which places it in direct competition with a variety of institutions fighting for the exclusive 'right' to run various specialist courses. The College is subject both to local and regional controlling interests:

> The wide range of institutions involved in a typical RAC area, the West Midlands, [for example] ...is so great that ...the effective decision tends to be left with the subject committees which, as they may have a vested interest in the courses being considered, do not always take a completely disinterested view.[4]

It is also subject to the tensions and pressures exerted by county and city reorganization. Contextual considerations need to be analysed in some detail since they determine to a large extent the difference between what is politically possible and what is politically expedient in a given setting. Also, as previously suggested, the geographical distribution seems physically determinist to some extent not only in explaining ethos

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1 Warwickshire County Council, County Architect, Project Scheme of Improvements, Sutton Coldfield Institute, Drawing no SC/5/3/RI, 1950, Shire Hall, Warwick, 1950. By 1955, building plans also record that improvements to the 'Technical Institute' were in fact to provide a School of Art. Warwickshire County Council, County Architect, Project Scheme of Improvements, Sutton Coldfield Institute of Further Education, Drawing no. SC/23/2/RI, 1955, Shire Hall, Warwick, 1955.

2 W.M.R.A.C., Directory of Institutions in Higher and Further Education, Birmingham, W.M.R.A.C., 1987, pp. 82, 92.

3 ibid., The W.M.R.A.C. covers a variety of urban and rural settings.

4 Leonard Cantor and I.F. Roberts, Further Education in England and Wales, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, pp. 21-23.

and provision, but also in underpinning the 'placement' of a particular college in the framework of the two-by-two dichotomy.

Until 1974 the 'Royal Town' of Sutton Coldfield did not lie within Birmingham at all; its Royal Charters allowed Sutton an independent Borough existence within the county of Warwickshire. Henry VIII had granted Sutton's first Royal Charter in 1528, and a second Charter was issued by Charles II in 1662.[1] The status and prestige acquired through these Charters had been jealously guarded but, under the Local Government Bills of 1971-1972, it became clear that Sutton would be amalgamated with Birmingham. By early 1972, fear was being expressed that Sutton Coldfield would soon be 'swallowed up' by the big city.[2] There were local protests, and Geoffrey Lloyd, the then Conservative Member of Parliament for Sutton, tabled an amendment to the Local Government Bills' Report, making a case for Sutton to remain within the administrative county of Warwickshire, declaring that the merger plan had provoked 'a sense of overwhelming outrage among his constituents'. [3]

In their authoritative work Further Education in England and Wales Cantor and Roberts cite the Birmingham/Warwickshire juxtaposition as a typical division of authorities. Its closest competitors were then seen as colleges in Nuneaton and Coventry.[4] The reorganization went ahead, however, and Sutton Coldfield was incorporated into Birmingham in 1974.[5] It had been a hotly contested move, with media pressure, petitions and demonstrations organized to challenge the takeover. Jones, a local

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1 Douglas Jones, The Royal Town of Sutton Coldfield, Sutton Coldfield: Westwood Publications, 1973 (1979), pp29, 39.
2 Jones, The Royal Town, p. 169.
3 ibid.
4 Cantor and Roberts, Further Education in England and Wales, 1972 edition, pp. 21-23.
5 Douglas Jones, Sutton Coldfield, 1974-84: The Story of a Decade, Sutton Coldfield, Westwood Publications, 1984, p. 11.

historian, describes the scene:

> The mood of the hour in Sutton Coldfield in early 1974 was one of apprehension. Whatever the shortcomings of the administration in the past, many of the inhabitants had no great relish for joining a vast human conglomeration stretching from Wolverhampton to Coventry. There was a feeling that after the 1st April of that year - the date of the enforced union between Sutton and Birmingham - a few at least of the refinements of life which Suttonians had hitherto enjoyed would be denied to them.[1]

The reasons for the antagonism lie within the nature and identity of Sutton Coldfield itself. The area is a prosperous one, in a strong Conservative constituency currently represented by Norman Fowler. It has been described as

> a dormitory borough of considerable charm with a cross-section of all social groups in the population, but with an unusually large percentage of well-to-do business and professional people ... it covers 14,000 acres of which 2,400 are parks.[2]

Indeed, Sutton Park was identified by a research team from the University of Vienna in their survey of 300 European parks, as the most important park in England.[3] It was a fact which was quickly picked up and enlarged by the City of Birmingham in their publicity literature:

> It is made more remarkable by its complete encirclement by suburban development.[4]

Clustered around the park are a variety of exclusive facilities including an inland yachting club, a luxury recreation and leisure centre, a tennis club, a golf club and horse-riding centres. Its housing caters for the luxury market; there are at least four private housing estate 'parks', mini mansions set in their own 1-2 acre grounds, served by a network of

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1 ibid.
2 Jones, The Royal Town, p. 151.
3 Cited in Jones, The Story of a Decade, p. 47.
4 City of Birmingham Department of Recreation and Community Services Sutton Park: A Park for All People, Birmingham, November, 1987.

private roads.[1] The population enjoys a variety of high-prestige retail outlets and services. The local Chamber of Commerce Directory contains the names of many 'up-market' products and agencies including furriers, jewellers, luxury cars, and haute-couture fashion retailers.[2] Additionally, both national and international concerns compete for planning permission to construct their regional and national administrative/executive headquarters in the town.[3] Many of the premises are situated in the Gracechurch centre, a freehold precinct owned by United Kingdom Provident Institution. Gracechurch has a 24-hour security control system with a complete electronic surveillance system and patrols. Vandalism is minimal and the atmosphere of the centre is one of careful oversight.[4] As the centre is privately-owned, permission has to be sought for any street activity, with only a limited number of licences for flower sellers, charity promotors and street entertainment.[5] Surrounding the centre is a conservation area with several properties listed under category II.[6]

The main through road, on which Sutton Coldfield College of Further Education stands, contains several important listed buildings, including Bleak House, and the Three Tuns Inn, which is Birmingham's only surviving coaching inn.[7] The College is immediately flanked by two historic edifices. Its southern neighbour is a listed building, reputedly used as a school by John Henry Cull and attended by the novelist Francis Brett Young.[8] Its northern neighbour, actually in the College grounds and

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1 Examples: Four Oaks Estate, Sutton Coldfield.
2 West Midlands Regional Group of Chambers of Commerce, Directory, Guardian Publications, 1987, Hurst Street, Birmingham, pp. 622, 4011.
3 For example MacDonalds Food Group.
4 Hillier Parker, (Managing Agents) Letter to writer, 17 December 1986, Grosvenor St, London.
5 ibid.
6 Jones, The Story of a Decade, pp. 26-27.
7 ibid.
8 Jones, The Royal Town, p. 82.

annexed into the College premises, currently the 'Right to Read' Centre for adult non-readers, is Moat House. It was built as a literally moated house in 1680 in 'the style compounded of Inigo Jones and the Dutch taste of King William's day which suits so well the red brick material of the Midland Counties'.[1] Although the moat no longer remains, features such as the seventeenth century sundial are intact.

Medical services in Sutton Coldfield are also unusual to some extent, certainly for the West Midlands. The town possesses both a large private general hospital and the largest private general practice outside London, as well as an NHS hospital.[2]

The education service of Sutton Coldfield is differentiated from the rest of Birmingham by not being one of fully comprehensive provision. Co-existing with the comprehensive schools are two state single-sex grammar schools, Sutton High School for Girls (established in 1938) and Bishop Vesey's Grammar School for Boys (founded in 1541). Entrance examinations for these schools may be taken at the ages of eleven and thirteen. At Bishop Vesey's 1979 Speech Day, the Headmaster was reported as saying, 'The grammar school system is a system that works'; Bishop Vesey's had lasted over 400 years and could confidently expect to survive any problems which the next few years would present.[3] There is also a concentration of private schools in Sutton Coldfield. Although there is only one state nursery school, there are numerous independent kindergartens,[4] and independent schools catering for the entire age-range.[5]

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1 ibid., p. 40.
2 Transcript of interview with Dr John Oakley, Tamworth Road, Sutton Coldfield, 26 November, 1986.
3 John Harvey, (Headmaster) Bishop Vesey, 'Annual Speech Day Address', December, 1979, Sutton Coldfield. Press Release, mimeo.
4 Independent Schools Information Service, Information Sheet, Birmingham and Sutton Coldfield, I.S.I.S., London, 1986.
5 ibid.

Less than two and a half miles from the Sutton boundary lies the inner perimeter of Birmingham which has been the subject of detailed study and inquiry since the disturbances of 1981 and 1985.[1] The juxtaposition of prosperous Sutton Coldfield to the areas of Perry Barr, Erdington and Handsworth reveals some sharp contrasts. Handsworth/Lozells has one of the worst, perhaps the worst, unemployment record in the whole country. As Silverman indicates:

> It is more than twice the city average, and the city's record is pretty dreadful... Birmingham has deteriorated in a few short years from a prosperous city of 1100 trades to one of the worst depression-ridden places in the country... In January 1985 91% of youths seen at Handsworth Careers Office had never worked.[2]

Only the sweatshops appear to be thriving:

> There are a large number of sweatshops in the area consisting of small scale firms employing less than 20 people and predominantly Asian owned... Working conditions in many clothing firms are extremely poor. The majority of clothing sweatshops are located in cheap old industrial premises.[3]

The crime rate in the area is about 30% higher than the city generally[4], and there is evident deterioration in the housing stock:

> A large number of the houses are of the Victorian or Edwardian villa type and are multi-occupied. These houses have generally been in a deteriorating condition ... a large number are decaying.[5]

This contrast between Sutton Coldfield and its proximate neighbourhoods is deep in the collective consciousness of its citizens. On the occasion of the Prince of Wales' visit to Handsworth in June 1986, The Birmingham Post and Mail carried a cartoon depicting the deceitful

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1 Julius Silverman, Independent Inquiry into the Handsworth Disturbances: September, 1985, City of Birmingham, February, 1986, p. 174.
2 Silverman, pp. 93, 37, 39.
3 ibid., p. 43.
4 ibid., p. 44.
5 ibid., p. 24.

replacement of the road sign 'Sutton Coldfield' by one reading 'Handsworth'.[1] The humour feeds off cultural discrepancies between the two areas, but it is also deeply cynical.

Despite its physical proximity to the deprived inner-city area, Sutton's identity is widely recognised as being closer to the more affluent Warwickshire area to which it was affiliated before the county reorganization. This has created widely-acknowledged tensions. Sutton is administered and controlled by an authority whose current ideological stance and cultural/demographic problems are alien to its historical and contemporary setting and conditions. In 1984, ten years after local government reorganization described by Jones as 'the beginning of Sutton's second decade of thraldom'[2] yet another powerful pressure-group was formed with the declared intention of regaining Sutton's independence. Much is made of the uncharitable isolationist attitudes that were fostered, and the general unwillingness to subsidize need elsewhere:

> One obvious benefit to Suttonians of independence would be to stop the town being used as a political pawn by Birmingham City Council. Currently, whenever Labour gains ascendency on the Council, Sutton is faced with the threat of a run down of services to help in subsidizing the inner-city wards - a concept distasteful to ratepayers already making a king-sized contribution to the common fund.[3]

Predictably, the Sutton/Birmingham antagonisms have had a profound effect on Sutton Coldfield College of Further Education, which found itself poised uneasily between the two worlds. With its physical location in Sutton and its financial purse-strings tied to aprons in Birmingham, the College became trapped in the crossfire between two political and cultural ideologies. In the crudest sense, then, the College found

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1 Birmingham Evening Mail, June 1986, Birmingham, p. 4.,
2 Jones, Story of a Decade, p. 61.
3 ibid., p. 62.

itself an arena in miniature for party political battles and class conflict. As Mannheim suggested, it is difficult for institutions to remain untouched by such contiguous friction and the College could scarcely avoid becoming 'a participant in the conflict of forces'.[1]

In the popular imagination Sutton College is 'advantaged', having acquired 'gilt by association' in its prestigious environment. Certainly its reputation is as the 'best academic college in Birmingham'[2], and this is clearly a marketable quality,[3] although there is some irony in the description, given the supposed vocational bias of all institutions of Further Education. But official statistics computed by the Further Education Division of the Local Education Authority support the College's self-image of superiority, with the highest percentage of examination passes of the Birmingham colleges[4], as well as the highest numbers of full-time students.[5] In 1985 its 1154 full-time students constituted 21% of the Birmingham colleges' total full-time student numbers of 5520.[6] Numbers of full-time students are significant for the perceived status and prestige of all colleges. Tipton has confirmed that growth in the numbers of full-time students is generally treated as an important marker of a college's success and prestige.[7] It is also significant, according to Castling,[8] that Sutton College has a low drop-out rate of both full and part-time students.

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1 Karl Mannheim, Ideology and Utopia, (translated by Edward Shils), Routledge and Kegan Paul, London 1976, p. 103.
2 Jones, Story of a Decade, p. 61.
3 Peter Davies and Keith Scribbens, Marketing Further Education and Higher Education, (Joint Publication), F.E.U., F.E.S.C., York, Longman, 1983, pp. 11-12.
4 Further Education Division, 'Statistics 1985', reported in Annual Programme for Sutton College, p. 4.
5 ibid.
6 ibid.
7 Beryl Tipton, Conflict and Change in a Technical College, London: Hutchinson, 1973, pp31-35.
8 Anne Castling, 'Reaching Out: Some Problems of Marketing in Further Education Settings', JFHE, Vol. 8, No. 1, Spring 1984, pp. 54-59.

There is considerable evidence to suggest that Sutton College generates an atmosphere of elite privilege which attracts both staff and students. The opinion is not infrequently expressed at inter-college meetings in Brimingham that Sutton College escapes the problems of discipline, poor student enrolment numbers, vandalism and low staff autonomy which undermine other local colleges.[1] Personnel of the security firm which holds the contract for all the Birmingham colleges regard Sutton as a relatively soft number:

> It's like a holiday working here after Handsworth College. You don't really need us. There's just no 'trouble' here, not as I understand the word anyway. You can't call lighting a fag one minute before the time allowed in the canteen, 'trouble', and that's the worst I've seen this week... When I was at Handsworth College, I had to rescue the teachers from the classroom many times.[2]

The attractiveness of the College to teaching staff is also indicated by the high number of applicants for whom appointment at Sutton College would represent a 'lateral career move'.[3] Interviews with students, too, revealed striking perceptions of the superiority of the College. If a student applies for a course at Sutton which is available at a college closer to his/her home, it is standard practice to ask at interview, 'Why haven't you applied for this course at Blank College?'[4] Transcripts of interviews with prospective students reveal a persistent and consistent mythology:

> 'Blank College is rough; I wouldn't go there'.
>
> 'Sutton is nicer. My parents don't want me to go to Blank College.'

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1 For example, Certificate of Pre-Vocational Education, City Co-ordinators' Meeting, Minutes, 16 June, 1986, Sutton Coldfield College, Birmingham.

2 Transcript of Interview with Security Officer, 18 November 1986.

3 Interview with Deputy Head of General Studies Department, 12 December 1986.

4 Sutton College, Internal Memo on 'Guidelines for Interviewing', May 1986.

'Sutton is the best College. You get good results and the surroundings are better.'[1]

Sutton College is perceived generally as sharing the situational advantages of Sutton itself, enjoying unequal access to resources. But local opinion also forces upon the College the expectation that it will share the town's deep-rooted antagonism towards Birmingham's Labour-controlled education policy. This putative political affiliation seeks to associate the College with elitist Conservative opinion, argued for as sensible partisan commitment. Nevertheless, the College has managed to attract criticism from both sides of the political divide, for reasons which will be partially clarified later. There are elements in the relationship between the College and its political masters which cannot be directly attributed to Party Political compromise, support or sponsorship.

The argument of this section of the thesis is that Sutton Coldfield College of Further Education is caught in a cross-fire between various tensions, many of which can be linked to the geographical and cultural location of 'Royal' Sutton.

Arguably, even allowing for the dominant instrumentality of Further Education, a College acquiring middle class local affiliations is likely in relative terms to be more entrepreneurial[2] and more academic/cultural than colleges in settings more obviously reverberating with proletarian education. Any tendency towards achievement-orientated or high culture orientated sub-cultures in a college renders it more 'opaque' in terms of the two-by-two dichotomy we developed to map differences in institutional milieux. The theoretical issue is whether the apparent pluralism masks or undermines the instrumentality of Further Education in privileged

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1 Transcript of Interviews with Students, 18 September, 1986.
2 Ronald King, School and College: Studies of Post-School Education, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1976, pp. 98-102.

settings. Certainly Sutton College exhibits a concern to carve its own niche and defend its own elite status. Since it treats itself as an exception, its greater freedoms are not necessarily threatening to the wider social structure.[1] Careless of over-staffing in other Birmingham colleges, particularly Brooklyn Technical College whose very existence depends on maintaining increasingly fragile links with declining industry, Sutton has 'poached' several high prestige courses, including specialist 'short courses' in industry,[2] supervisory courses of the Institute of Industrial Management,[3] and the piloting and development of training relationships with high media-profile industrial concerns.[4]

Many of these enterprises seem to have been high-risk ventures, even at times with an element of cheek, since Sutton College in reality did not always possess either the specialist staff or the appropriate rooming facilities to cope with the extra demand. At times this entrepreneurial quality touched upon eccentricity, leaving the College open to legitimate criticism. For example, full-time short courses for trainee Land-Rover supervisors, in April-June 1988, could not be accommodated in either the main College building or any of its annexes. The College's notion of a suitable solution was to house the Course in

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1 Mannheim, Ideology and Utopia, p. 127.

2 Sutton College provided a 'model' course on Management and Communication Skills for 'Delta' Engineering (Birmingham) when Brooklyn Technical College was suffering from short-term staffing shortages caused through staff illness. Favourable response to the Course resulted in Brooklyn losing the 'Delta' contract. (1987-1988)

3 By offering a considerable target group for the examinations of the Institute of Industrial Management, through progression from Supervisory Studies Courses, Sutton obtained permission to override existing I.I.M. syllabus provision, traditionally based at Brooklyn Technical College, from September 1987.

4 Pilot Course for Land-Rover (Freight Division), Solihull, approved, September 1987; extended into permanent training partnership, May 1988.

the under-used training 'suite' of a local mental hospital.[1] Only local tact and good humour rescued the situation.

Despite the College's sense of its own privileged locations, there is little acknowledgement of the College by Sutton itself. Published local histories fail to mention it, although containing numerous references to the grammar schools, the charity schools, the library, the hospital, the railway station, and even the police and fire stations - opposite the College grounds.[2] This omission of reference to the College is significant, and points to a lack of local support, which is underlined by the one indirect published reference. On the land which the College now occupies once stood Cocksparrow Hall, which was demolished in the late nineteenth century:

> Near to Moat House stood Cock-Sparrow Hall - a pretty, half-timbered black and white house. The scene prompted Holbeche to say in his diary, 'may the possessor of the property be forgiven for demolishing it, for it was wanton: a pure piece of vandalism.'[3]

The general lack of sympathy for the College in the town is also recognized by the students and duly recorded in the Students Handbook:

> Sutton, being the 'straight' area it is, caters generally for the 'straight' people that live there, and the college is somewhat of a thorn in the side of what would be a 'liberal' area.[4]

The College is presently financed by the City on a similar level to the other colleges, and its premises are far from ideal to the extent that weather damage forced the College to close temporarily in 1990. The

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1 Land-Rover Supervisors, National Examinations Board for Supervisory Studies, April-October 1988, Course Located at Highcroft Mental Hospital, Erdington, Birmingham.
2 For example, Jones, The Royal Town, pp. 164-165.
3 Jones, Royal Town, pp. 82-83.
4 Sutton Coldfield of Further Education, Sutton Students Handbook, Birmingham, 1986, p. 45.

building programme was not complete when the College was transferred from Warwickshire to Birmingham control.[1] Since Birmingham LEA would not take responsibility for completion, the College today stands partially finished. The Science block, for example, has not been plastered, and teaching has continued in 'temporary' terrapin huts since 1955.[2] The College receives the lowest Equipment, Tools and Materials allowance of all Birmingham Colleges, £78,320, which compares unfavourably with Matthew Boulton Technical College's £136,410.[3] In spite of this, or because of it, the Audit Commission have reported that the College is the most economically efficient of all Birmingham's colleges.[4]

Other consequences spring from the geographical distribution of the College's sites. Although the main building complex is in Sutton Coldfield itself, with annexes at the Old School of Art, the Townhall, a factory unit on the Reddicap Trading Estate, Moat House, Mere Green, Wyndley Leisure Centre, and Boldmere School, its largest annexe is Erdington Centre, which lies less than two miles from the inner-ring in the relatively depressed district of Erdington.[5] Until 1974, the then Erdington College was part of Handsworth Technical College. Its amalgamation with Sutton College, in 1974, brought the concerns and needs of the inner-city into Sutton's orbit. Erdington became the principal base for engineering in the new institution, and in time also housed some of its Youth Training Scheme activity. Today both staff and students move between the sites, the Conditions of Service for all staff require

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1 Warwickshire County Council, County Architect, Project Scheme of Improvements: Sutton Coldfield Institute of Further Education, Drawing No. SA/23/2/72, Shire Hall, Warwick, 1972.

2 Warwickshire County Coucil, County Architect, Site Elevation: Sutton Coldfield College of Further Education, Shire Hall, Warwick, 1968.

3 Annual Programme, p. 6.

4 ibid.

5 H.M.S.O., Ordnance Survey Sheet Sp/09/19: Sutton Coldfield, Crown Copyright, 1976.

willingness to become involved at the Centre, and there is no formal separation of 'Erdington' and 'Sutton' staff. This distribution tends to undermine the over-simplification that Sutton College is an isolated elite institution remote from the problems of the city from which it is financed. Its successful contribution to the city's employment and training needs (measured by the support of the Industrial Training Boards and the MSC) points to a pro-active approach by the College to its 'city' identity. Another factor is that its students are drawn from all areas of Birmingham.[1]

b) Evolution of the Milieu and General Education

As indicated above, Sutton Coldfield College of Further Education appears to be capable of testing propositions about the dominant transparent instrumentalism of Further Education and the extent to which it is modified and rendered opaque in settings characterized by entrepreneurialism, openness, or apparently 'pluralistic' provision. The argument of this thesis is that Drama, being naturally expressive, and at times carrying potential for subversive counter-hegemonic challenge, can be treated as a 'litmus paper' in determining what social processes are involved in cultural and ideological control within Further Education. Is it possible to assert hegemonic control by consent, curbing Drama by agreement even in the apparently favourable conditions of Box 4 in the two-by-two dichotomy, so that the challenge never quite materializes? Or are the tensions involved in Box 4 between 'naturally instrumental' Further Education and 'naturally expressive' Drama such that social control will involve elements of coercion? Or is the dilemma false, so that Box 4 institutions can be analysed as evidencing a genuine

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[1] Annual Programme, Appendix II, 'Full-Time Students by Geographical Area'.

pluralism? Before taking these questions explicitly to Drama at Sutton College, there is some merit in attempting to place Drama in the wider history of the relationship between instrumental and expressive goals at the College.

Although expressive subjects are methodologically individualistic and therefore poor conductors of reproductive messages, there is evidence that expressive and instrumental goals have co-existed in Sutton College around adult education for some time, even before the establishment of Sutton as a recognized College of Further Education. The tensions associated with the divisions have been apparent for some time.

Interviews with retired teaching staff reveal that by the Second World War, the claims of 'General Education' coexisted with the more instrumental demands of vocationally-orientated technical courses:

> There were adults, school-leavers, 'commercial' students, recreational classes...there was a lot going on. More, I think, than most people realized. But that was part of the challenge, I think. It's certainly why I came into the Institute. I was basically an historian, but I wanted to develop a broader base. It gave me the opportunity to do that. In fact I don't think I really ever taught 'History' while I was at the Institute. I became a 'general' teacher. There were a few of us. We had to both draw together the different vocational aspects and devise ways of broadening the training - there was a demand - we both satisfied it, and ourselves.[1]

This excerpt reveals clearly an element of compromise and adaptation, an awareness of being caught in the cross-fire of opposing ideologies. At this time the overt public descriptions celebrated the instrumental role, enshrined in the designation 'Technical Institute', but competing claims on the curriculum could already be identified, made from distinctively more liberal vantage points. The question at this point is whether the

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[1] Mr Donald Crisp, Lecturer at Sutton Coldfield Institute: 1946-1948, Transcript of Interview, 19 September, 1986.

diversity developed in a way that justifies treating the College as an emergent opaque and pluralistic milieu, or whether the tensions remained endemic, and deeply-structured in the institutional setting.

There appears to have been two ways in which the milieu associated with the 'core' of technical instruction was diluted by the social context of the diversified curriculum. The first was the extent to which this led to a non-homogenic disparity between ages, cultural status and personal commitment of the students ('adults, school leavers, 'commercial' students, recreational classes ...'[1]). Inevitably students' perceptions of both their own roles and the role of the College did not match, and the student sub-culture could only be understood by disaggregating it into the fragmented consciousness associated with particular locations. The second source of modified sensibilities which tended to undermine the instrumental core of the Institute was the emergence of an individualistic philosophy, a belief in self-realization and personal expression as legitimate pedagogical goals. This trend was clearly articulated in an interview with a retired lecturer:

> There was a certain sense of freedom for the general teacher. We were free from the boundaries of the subject. Unlike the Commerce teacher or the Art teacher, or the tech lecturer, we could concentrate, with justification, on the individual. Although we were still quite small then - basically Art, Commerce and some elementary Sciences - the general teacher couldn't be expected to have a detailed knowledge of the subjects he was serving. Instead, our concentration was upon expression, personal fulfilment, articulacy, enjoyment. I still think we provided the nucleus on which the college reputation is built. You see, regardless of what trade, profession or interest is in fashion, ultimately its the person, the individual who counts. I believed that in 1947, and judging by the way the college has moved, it's a belief which still holds good.[2]

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1 Transcript of Interview with Donald Crisp, 19 September, 1986.
2 ibid.

The two influences were related in that it was generalist rather than specialist teachers who were most associated with this emerging counter-culture. At stake were changing perceptions, generating alternative accounts of what constituted 'knowledge' and what constituted personal growth. Occasionally the bifurcation between the conflicting implicit assumptions underpinning the instrumental and expressive agendas surfaced in hostility or suspicion:

> I was viewed with great suspicion sometimes ... I was thought to be wasting time ... filling their heads with nonsense when they should have been practising shorthand.[1]

3. The Position of Drama

We can now move to a more direct consideration of how Drama stood in relation to these matters. As indicated earlier, the model of a subject employed in this thesis is primarily a sociological one propounded by Ivor Goodson; the suggestion is that subjects are themselves malleable and negotiable entities battling for scarce resources of time, prestige and money, and possessing 'natural histories' not unlike those charting the progress of occupational groups aspiring to professional status.[2] Drama, shown above to be substantially a multi-faceted subject, is perhaps particularly adept at emphasizing partial aspects of itself in response to the pressures of social circumstances experienced in the host institution, either by way of accommodation or guile. The analytical difficulty is that it is not

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1 ibid.

2 Ivor Goodson, 'Subjects for Study: Towards a Social History of Curriculum' in Ivor F. Goodson and Stephen J. Ball, Defining the Curriculum: Histories and Ethnographies, The Falmer Press, Lewes, 1984, pp. 40-41.

always easy to adjudicate between cooption and camouflage as possible alternative explanations without undertaking a fine-grain analysis of the motives and tactics involved.

In the years immediately following the Second World War, Sutton College allowed a recognised focus around Drama. There is frequent recall of plays, pageants and productions involving several departments, and evidence of a close relationship between-Highbury Little Theatre and Sutton Institute.[1] 'Speech' was an integral feature of secretarial and commerce courses, and was taught through Drama.[2] The widespread need for Speech Training in the large Commerce Department of the post-War Sutton Institute was to provide the foundation upon which a formal Drama Department was to be built. It was around this time that Wall, a Reader at Birmingham University, published his defence of Drama for its 'humanizing effects', stressing the value of fantasy and simulation ('mimesis, imitation and identification') to all adolescents, regardless of their vocational preferences.[3]

In time it became apparent that Drama was not at Sutton College acting as a stalking-horse for eventual developments in 'General' and 'Liberal' Studies after the Crowther Report of 1959.[4] Sutton's Drama activity remained relatively free-standing, discrete from the development of Liberal Studies.[5] Documentary evidence for Sutton College's unequivocal endorsement of Drama can be found in the extant plans and projections for the phased building programme.[6]

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1 Transcript of Interview with Mr Donald Crisp, 29 September, 1986.
2 ibid.
3 N.D. Wall, The Adolescent Child, London, Methuen, 1948, pp. 36, 37.
4 Ministry of Education, 15-18, (Crowther Report) H.M.S.O., 1959.
5 Interview with Vice Principal, 27 July, 1986.
6 Evidence exists for this in the staffing of the College's departments/sections, funding and resource allocations, and building programmes.

a) The Development of Facilities for Drama

Useful insights into the evolution of Drama at Sutton College may be gleaned by tracing the history of physical facilities made available to it, since any large-scale financial investment carries policy implications. The development of relatively sophisticated facilities for Drama itself suggests that it was not perceived either as a stop-gap, or as a mere adjunct to utilitarian provision. In common with many sections of the College, Drama had shared primitive conditions during its early stages. Interviews with the Vice Principal, retired members of the College staff, and students of the 1950s and 1960s, confirm that Speech classes, rehearsals and productions took place in make-shift conditions. Drama classes of all kinds were scheduled at the Hill annexe of the College. There were practical difficulties and some evidence of mild disruption, which the Vice Principal recalled:

> Everyone complained about the noise caused by Drama...you couldn't blame them really. There was this teacher and a group in the middle of an improvisation, and the only division between them and the short-hand class next door, was a set of screens.[1]

A temporary solution sought to minimize the disruption; the Birmingham Odeon cinema management made a gift of used drapes to the College, which proved to be effective sound mufflers. These heirlooms have accompanied the Drama section in its various subsequent moves, and continue to be utilized today.[2]

Some ambivalence surrounding the position of Drama at Sutton Coldfield College of Further Education can be read into the architect's plans for the Drama facility. When by 1960 the building programme for the new Lichfield Road site was under way, it included extensive Drama

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1 Transcript of Interview with the Vice Principal, 27 July, 1986.

2 Examples: Public performances - December 1982, Property List for 'A Christmas Carol', includes the use of this material as drapery for Scrooge's bed and floor-setting for 'The Fall of Man'.

facilities, although the Science and Engineering Workshops were then only projected. An architect's plan of 1960 shows the layout of an auditorium theatre.[1] In structural detail it remains unchanged in 1990. A dual usage is implicit in its title, 'Lecture and Drama Theatre', and this has remained the official designation of the space. It is not too fanciful to see the space, Janus-like, as facing in two directions, giving it a marginal and ambiguous dual physical identity. The front entrance opens on to the main public foyer, and the visual detail is handled formally. The floor is simulated marble and the double-doors leading into the auditorium are in stained mahogany, placed above which is the uncompromising sign 'LECTURE THEATRE'. The other way into the Drama area proper, the workshop and preparation areas, is by an entrance on the side of the building, on the analogy of indirect 'tradesmen's' access to the grander middle class houses. Today's visitors entering the building from the car park in this way are offered no formal acknowledgement of where they are. Once inside, however, the artistic purpose reveals itself; the floors are wooden or drugget covered, and theatrical associations abound. There are props, baskets, wardrobe rails, a lighting platform, lighting and rehearsal schedules cluttered in the working area behind the stage. Posters and notices concerning Theatre productions, short Drama courses and courses relating to Higher Education cover the walls, many of which are painted matt black, which is inconspicuous contrast to the otherwise ubiquitous subdued pastel decor. It is this back entrance which is most commonly used by students; the front auditorium entrance is more commonly associated with infrequent general meetings, or formal induction procedures at the beginning of the academic year. This differentiation

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[1] Warwickshire County Council, County Architect, Sutton Coldfield College of Further Education: Main Ground Floor Plan, Drawing No 22B, Shire Hall, Warwick, January, 1960.

suggests that the theoretical propositions concerning the marginal status of Drama are replicated in its physical provision. A metaphor of tidal movement offers a vivid illumination; at Sutton the physical territory of Drama, like the shore-line, is potentially subject to massive encroachments. The auditorium is in principle capable at any time of being taken back into ceremonial or instrumental use, leaving Drama as closely-observed marine life in its transparent rock-pool at the back.

But the implicit architectural threat remained unrealized, and Drama flourished under the new conditions. By 1960, much of the 'lecture' role of the Theatre was already redundant, particularly as smaller lecture theatres had been built in other departments.[1] Within a decade the College had acquired a total of four lecture theatres in addition to the main auditorium.[2]

The period after 1960 saw Drama institutionalized thoroughly into College life in a way quite unreplicated in the other Birmingham colleges. Drama appears to have been prioritized, doubtless for the kinds of reason discussed above. There was envy and uncertainty around its fringes, but little concerted opposition. The ambiguous architectural provision stabilized into a perceived 'Drama block'. Generalized assertions about the value of Drama outcropped frequently:

> Drama and Theatre should be an integral part of College life ... both the College and individual students benefit from the experiences it offers.[3]

The apparent integration of Drama was helped during this period of expansion by the move through to relatively senior positions at Sutton College of members of staff who had previously been actively involved in

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1 Sutton Coldfield Main Ground Floor Plan, Warwick, 1960 .
2 Warwickshire County Council, County Architect, Sutton Coldfield College of Further Education, Floor Plans, Drawings, Shire Hall, Warwick, May-December, 1971.
3 Minutes of General Studies Meeting, SCCFE., June 1960.

Drama and Theatre. This reverberates with Goffman's analysis of the dependence of strategic initiatives on the power and commitment of the people acting on their behalf.[1] One factor was that many College staff had intellectual biographies that at one time or another had taken them into humane disciplines or interests:

> Unusually, perhaps, all the senior staff were Humanities graduates. Although the Principal was generally known as an economist, his first degree was in History. Of course in those days nearly all Principals were from a science/ technical background, so I suppose the 'economist' was a defence label. But, in essence, his personal sympathies were wider. It didn't only relate to Drama - it's also why we've inherited a strong Liberal Studies section... He would never countenance a narrow vocational curriculum.[2]

> I was at Keswick School ... it was quite an eccentric school. Drama was a main focus. We had strong associations with the Village Drama League; I can't imagine any subject being without Dramatic content. It's unthinkable to teach any aspect of English without Drama.[3]

Critically and unusually, the pattern of appointment had been such that several senior personnel had a background that gave them some roots in a liberal humane view of education, against the general narrower instrumental trend in Further Education. Unavoidably, this circumstance made Sutton College better placed to run counter to the broad pattern established in Further Education, that of vocationally-based instrumentalism. But, as we shall see, this alternative vision was not, in the event, sustained untarnished.

The lecturer then responsible for Drama, Muriel Benwell, has been described as an 'eccentric, idiosyncratic, charismatic teacher',[4] but she was also a member of the College Governors. Although eligible for

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1 Erving Goffman, Strategic Interaction, Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1970, pp. 96-97.
2 Transcript of Interview with Head of General Studies Department, 3 December 1986.
3 Transcript of Interview with Vice-Principal, 27 July 1986.
4 Transcript of Interview with Head of General Studies Department, 3 December, 1986.

retirement in the 1960s, her drive for Drama within the College was immensely powerful and influential even during the 70s.[1] She had worked both in the professional Theatre and in teaching. Since she possessed a professional expertise from having worked in the Theatre, her methods and views were much respected.[2] During the planning of the Studio Theatre, she had considerable personal influence over the design, as was evident from the number of amendments which appear in the documents.[3] The significance of this individual lecturer, with her consistent battling for the place and provision of Drama within the College, indicates that the achieved status of individual subjects in relatively opaque or pluralistic educational milieux may owe something in some circumstances to the 'moral entrepreneurship'[4] of particular individuals with access to management. Although responsible for Drama, the lecturer in question was to some extent protected by the designation 'English'.

Almost inevitably there was a strong backlash from lecturers feeling that Further Education should stick to its vocational tasks, and much animosity was expressed towards the upstart or 'deviant' Drama, particularly against its seemingly easy access to the scarce commodities of prestige and resources.[5] A current lecturer recalls the general feeling of the period:

> The atmosphere was, to say the least, heated. The Scientists, Engineers, Mathematicians, Business Studies staff, even some General Studies staff, wondered how on earth Drama's prestige could be justified. They did not regard it

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1 See for example, Sutton Coldfield College of Further Education, Minutes of Governor's meeting, 17 December, 1976.

2 Transcript of Interview with Head of General Studies Department, 3 December, 1986.

3 Warwickshire County Council, County Architect, Sutton Coldfield College of Further Education, Block 9, Ground Floor Plans, Drawings numbered 940-943, Shire Hall, Warwick, May-December, 1971.

4 H. Becker, 'On Becoming a Marihuana User', American Journal of Sociology, November 1953, 59, pp. 41-58.

5 Albert Cohen, Deviance and Control, Prentice Hall, Englewood-Cliffs, 1967, Chapter Two.

as a serious subject. Words to the effect of 'We're not a bloody finishing school' were directed against Drama very often.[1]

b) The History of Drama as a Course

The building of the 'Drama block', which took place in the decade 1960-1970, paralleled the development of externally examined GCE Ordinary and Advanced Level Theatre Arts and Drama.[2] The advent of the examinations transformed much of the Drama in Sutton College from a peripheral, recreational or servicing role into a mainstream course, a part of central provision which itself was serviced by other departments.

The argument in this section is that the weight of official support which was thrown behind the development of Drama and Theatre Arts Courses had much to do with the emerging academic 'respectability'[3] of the subject, a proposition that supports the developmental model of aspirant subjects put forward by Goodson.[4] Yet examinable Drama is in one sense tamed Drama, enticed from its subversive potential. Instead, it became another channel through which the College could succeed in its own terms. The College suddenly found itself able to play it each and every way; it could claim the prestige, in middle-class Sutton, of appearing liberal and diversified, but without paying too high a price. Although collaborating with this shift in emphasis at the time, Drama tutors subsequently sought to re-negotiate the role of the subject, using the advances gained as a kind of base camp from which to tackle a new face.

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1 Transcript of Interview with Lecturer in English/Drama, 20 September 1986.

2 Associated Examining Board, Theatre Studies, Advanced Level (653); Ordinary Level (119), London, 1977-1979.

3 Erving Goffman, Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity, 1963, Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1968, pp. 16-18.

4 Goodson, 'Subjects for Study', pp. 40-41.

Unlike other subjects in the academic curriculum, which enjoyed equal weighting and were available for ad hoc combinations for individual students, Drama and Theatre Arts was formed into an integrated or at least packaged course. It was agreed at an Academic Board meeting in 1974, and published in the Prospectus of 1975-76, that Drama and Theatre Arts would form the core of a two-year Drama and Liberal Arts course at 'A' level.[1] Other academic and practical subjects became widely perceived, rather precipitously, as 'servicing agents' of Drama. Despite continued mutterings against the 'elitism' of Drama, and College-wide complaints that its students were deliberately engaging in 'visible affronts',[2] particularly in a settled tendency to become 'disruptive' or 'arrogrant', the Drama and Liberal Arts section continued to grow in student numbers.[3] A similar expansion took place, significantly, at Stratford-upon-Avon, which became the closest rival centre for Drama.[4] As Hargreaves has pointed out, the capacity to incorporate 'the great richness of the extra-curriculum' into the 'formal' curriculum is itself a clear 'status marker',[5] conferring cultural credibility on the host institution, not least because the collapse of the distinction is one of the hallmarks of the Public School. It is signficant that Sutton College was able to travel that road at all, despite the overt vocational and instrumental emphasis of Further Education, which tends in more

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1 SCCFE., Minutes of Academic Board Meeting, 12 March, 1974.

2 See Cohen, Deviance and Control, Chapter Two.

3
1977 - 7	1981 - 14	1945 - 40
1978 - 10	1982 - 30	1986 - 45
1979 - 9	1983 - 30	
1980 - 12	1984 - 40	

4 A.E.B., Advanced Level Theatre Studies, Centres, 1978-79, London, 1978.

5 David Hargreaves, The Challenge for the Comprehensive School: Culture, Curriculum and Community, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1982, p. 157.

representative settings to depress or marginalise the Arts. This was a pattern not replicated in other Birmingham Colleges, but in Sutton resonated with the local factors described above.

It is also quite clear that Drama and Theatre Arts contributed to the 'ethos of success' that increasingly surrounded Sutton College, not least through its high examination pass rate.[1] This contribution was recognised even by those who disapproved of the methods and practices associated with Drama:

> I don't like Drama and especially don't like Drama students - but what can I do? I don't think they do any real work ... they just mess about - but everyone knows about the pass rate. I just think it shows that anyone can pass the 'A' level ... that it's not worth anything, but as long as the figures show exam passes, that's all the FE system cares about.[2]

The implication of this remark is that the degree of freedom tolerated in Drama students would not be permitted in other disciplines.

The development of examinable Drama/Theatre in Sutton College deserves closer scrutiny. After the introduction of the formalized Drama and Liberal Arts course, there is little documentary evidence of the inter-departmental co-operation which had accompanied the earlier less-structured Drama-related practices, and the sense of community encouraged by collaborative productions and performances faded. As Drama teaching narrowed, its impact across the curriculum became less forceful. The Drama area, together with its staff and students, became isolated and compartmentalized:

> The departments had always been more of an administrative convenience than anything. We were not personally aware of great educational or philosophical differences. I think Drama was significant in this. When you were working for a

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1 1977 60% 1980 50% 1983 60% 1986 82%
1978 100% 1981 86% 1984 95% 1987 100%
1979 100% 1982 70% 1985 75%

2 Transcript of Interview with long-serving Deputy Head of Business Studies, 12 October 1986.

> production, your department or your specialism was entirely irrelevant. Everyone had a common ground - a common purpose. After the Drama section was formalized there was much less interchange, less of any common purpose. I personally feel that while the College as an institution may have gained a greater academic prestige through examined Drama, as a corporate body of people, it suffered.[1]

This judgement was echoed in six interviews with staff who had experienced the transition and currently remain in the College.[2] An indication of the extent of this 'withdrawal' of Drama from the cross-College curriculum may be gained through a comparison of prospectuses and programmes before and after the formalization of Drama teaching. Documents before 1974-75 contain many references to dramatic activity throughout the College.[3] Some examples of Prospectus entries from 1964 to 1974 illustrate the point. For example, an entry for 1966 reads as follows:

> Acting and Drama (Dept. of Liberal Studies and Modern Languages):
>
> This course gives those interested in the amateur theatre an opportunity for training. The subjects to be studied will include voice production, movement, make-up, lighting, stage-management, etc.
>
> 'Aspects of the Contemporary Theatre (joint course with Workers' Education Association)'. 'Communication for Management: Public Speaking (Short Course)'. Film and Drama Club: Full-scale dramatic and musical performances. Speech and Drama leading to the advanced examinations of the English Speaking Board and LAMDA. (part-time and full-time - all Departments).[4]

After 1975, by way of contrast, prospectuses demonstrate the relative 'confinement' of Drama to a more tightly-defined client group:

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1 Transcript of Interview with Head of General Studies Department, 3 December, 1986.

2 Transcripts of Interviews:
Lecturer in Speech and Drama - 15 January, 1987
Vice Principal - 27 July 1986
Senior Lecturer: English/Speech/Drama - 12 December, 1986
Lecturer II: English/Classics/Drama - 14 January, 1987
Senior Lecturer: Business Studies - 7 November, 1986
Lecturer in English/Drama - 20 September, 1986

3 Sutton Coldfield College of Further Education, Prospectuses, Sutton Coldfield, 1963-1974.

4 Sutton Prospectus, 1966.

Drama and Liberal Arts Course. This full-time course in Drama and Liberal Arts is designed:

1. For students over 16 who may ultimately intend to specialize in Drama, Dance or Music as teachers or performers.
2. For students preparing for or awaiting entry into teacher training at College of Education or University.[1]

One result was that any potential or deviant elements could be more easily contained.[2] There is further evidence which suggests that the expressive potential of Drama was deliberately curtailed even within the specific area of Drama/Theatre Arts teaching. Prior to the introduction of GCE examination syllabuses, there were extensive and varied Drama activities, as the following Prospectus entries indicate:

Part Time Day:
Speech and Drama
Studio Course for Experienced Students
Intending Teachers' Course (with attendance at Studio Productions' Company Rehearsal)
Studio Productions' Company (Day Section) Experienced players who prepare performances and give them in college or elsewhere
Speaking in Public
Beginners' and Intermediate examination Speech and Drama
School Practical Link Session
Art for Drama Students
Movement and Dance for Drama Students
Drama Activity Option
Speech and Drama activities for Young People
Young Peoples' Examination Speech and Drama

Early Evening Sessions
Drama Club
Children's Theatre Players

Evening Classes
Public Speaking
Light Opera Group
Advanced Speech and Drama (Medal and Diploma Exams)
Studio Productions
Beginners and Intermediate Speech and Drama

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1 Sutton College Prospectus, 1974-1975.

2 In spite of Neil Postman's account of Teaching as a Subversive Activity (New York, Delta Press, 1969), most sociological analyses of teachers as an occupational group points to their political compliance. See, for example, J. Floud and W. Scott, 'Recruitment to Teaching in England and Wales', in A.H. Halsey, J. Floud and P.A. Anderson, Education, Economy and Society, New York, Free Press, 1965, pp. 539-543.

Experimental Theatre Group
Theatre Club[1]

After the introduction of external validation for Drama and Theatre Arts, Drama activities were limited to full-time study of the Associated Examining Board's syllabus, together with two easily overseen teaching scenarios:

Drama Workshop, (Weds. 7-9) Children's Class, (Sat. 10-12)[2]

Concurrently the teaching of Drama seems to have undergone a drastic change during the shift. A student who experienced the transition period recalled:

> Suddenly, all the real excitement was gone. Miss Benwell for all her faults, had previously made us think. But at the start of the new 'A' level course in September, she seemed to be a different person. It was notes, notes, notes and more notes! She seemed unsure of herself; we were frightened and angry. It didn't make any sense. For a whole year we had been taught to question, to imagine. Now, we had to regurgitate endless and, to us, meaningless facts. We didn't like it, but even more important, I don't think Miss Benwell liked it.[3]

This view of the changes affecting Theatre Studies acquires documentary reinforcement from extant teaching notes from the early 1970s, which consist largely of sequenced and labelled sets of notes and illustrations, accompanied by photocopied duplicates for students of material from the reading list supplied by the AEB.[4] In carefully marked manilla envelopes, there survive to this day sets of sequential pages

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1 Sutton Part-time Prospectus, 1973-1974, p. 24.
2 Part-time Prospectus, 1982-1983, p. 38.
3 Transcript of Interview with student, 19 December, 1986.
4 A.E.B., Drama and Theatre Arts, Ordinary/Alternative Level, AEB., Reading List, London, 1974.
A.E.B., Drama, Ordinary Level, (119) Recommended Background Reading List, London, 1974.
A.E.B., Theatre Studies, Advanced Level, (653) Books for Suggested Reading, London, 1977.

from The British Theatre: Its Repertory and Practice: 1100-1900, and The Students' Guide to The British Theatre and Drama.[1] These notes were clearly used as the main basis for class teaching.

Although so-called 'Practical Drama' teaching continued, it revolved principally around rehearsal and readings from the set texts, and preparation for the individual and group projects demanded by the examination syllabus. Examples of students' work from this period show a high proportion of dictated notes:

> You are asked to study developments in the legitimate theatre and certain topics are listed as worthy of your consideration. Credit will be given to candidates who can see the relationship between what was happening in the theatre, to wider movements in society and in the arts. The C19th was the period when the industrial revolution was happening in England.[2]

Both class-work and homework also tended to concentrate upon factual lists concerning theatre history and theatre law:

> The Actor Managers
>
> Sir Squire Bancroft 1841-1926
> Wilson Barrett 1846-1904
> Sir Herbert Draper Beerbohm Tree 1853-1917
> David Garrick 1717-1779
> Sir Henry Irving 1838-1905
> William Hunter Kendal 1843-1917
>
> Law in the Theatre
>
> The Sunday Observance Act 1780
> The Theatres Act 1843
> Censorship/Licensing of Theatres[3]

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1 E.J. Burton, The Students' Guide to the British Theatre and Drama, London: Herbert Jenkins, 1963
E.J. Burton, The British Theatre: Its Repertory and Practice: 1100-1900, London: Herbert Jenkins, 1960.
(Sets of material from these texts in their original teaching order remain intact. They are in the possession of M.J. Cooper, Sutton Coldfield College.).

2 Internal documentation from Lecturer in charge of Drama (deceased); documentation remains in possession of Lecturer in English and Drama, interviewed 20 September, 1986.

3 ibid.

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1 E.J. Burton, The Students' Guide to the British Theatre and Drama, London: Herbert Jenkins, 1963
E.J. Burton, The British Theatre: Its Repertory and Practice: 1100-1900, London: Herbert Jenkins, 1960.
(Sets of material from these texts in their original teaching order remain intact. They are in the possession of M.J. Cooper, Sutton Coldfield College.).

2 Internal documentation from Lecturer in charge of Drama (deceased); documentation remains in possession of Lecturer in English and Drama, interviewed 20 September, 1986.

3 ibid.

The unease felt by Drama lecturers under pressure from the examination syllabus was resolved by dividing the teaching into 'theory' and 'practical'. The 'theory' was taught by staff from the English section, which resulted in a literary focus and a concentration upon an essay-related pedagogy. Typical essay questions from the internal examination paper of December 1976 illustrate the coerciveness of the 'literary examination question' genre:

> There are no minor characters in 'The Sea Gull'. How far do you agree with this statement?
>
> Describe and evaluate Chekov's treatment of the themes of artistic creation.
>
> 'Lyrical, tragic and comic'. To what extent are these three terms applicable to 'The Sea Gull'?[1]

This bifurcation between 'theory' and 'practical' teaching continued until 1985. Between 1970 and 1985, therefore, the impact of examination validation had moved Drama into a small and tightly-defined section. Although in this isolated and contained position it continued to contribute to the maintenance of overall College prestige, there is no doubt that its wings had been considerably clipped.

It is now possible to summarize the dilemmas faced by radical tutors not always formally affiliated to Drama but sympathetically attuned its problems and possibilities. Although enjoying high prestige, Drama as a subject had become increasingly isolated and controlled by a combination of containment and redirection towards its academic facets in preference to its expressive potential. Its credibility in the College was no longer that of a subject that had made itself uncomfortably but impressively 'street-wise'; instead it had been declared, uncomfortably to itself, to be 'street-legal'. The capacity to challenge had been dissipated, and the general sense of excitement gone.

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[1] Internal Examination Paper, Drama and Theatre Arts, December, 1976.

In the event, Drama behaved according to the predictions which we made earlier about its swerving role in different cultural circumstances. It found a way, at times surreptitiously through guerilla tactics, of fighting back. The next section examines the methods employed by 'radical' elements in the College for preserving expressive routes, asserted against the reclaimed instrumental orthodoxy.

c) Preserving the Latent Tradition

It is possible to demonstrate through extant documents and tape-recorded interviews that a wider version of Drama than that countenanced by its official location in the prescribed 'Course' survived. A number of self-selected 'moral entrepreneurs' emerged who promoted Drama's wider pedagogical and expressive roles, although in so doing heightened the tensions and ambiguities of the setting.

Some of this sub-structural activity emanated from lecturers other than those directly concerned with Drama and Theatre Arts courses, but who had maintained an interest in the incidental contribution of Drama to liberating mixed-pedagogy approaches, including expressive elements, across the curriculum. These lecturers held in common an individualistic orientation, even in settings with a strong vocational bias:

> I am not a machine and I do not intend or pretend that I teach to machines. My primary motivation is to engender self-realisation. If that takes the student beyond the limits of his/her vocational subject, that cannot be helped. If I aim to do anything less then I would not consider myself to be an educationist.[1]

In particular, dramatic techniques like role play began once again to enliven the pedagogy of a whole range of subjects, although applied piecemeal and remaining relatively underacknowledged. Existing structures of English teaching, such as those suggested in this teaching

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[1] Transcript of Interview with Head of General Studies, 3 December, 1986.

handbook of 1963, were proving inadequate in the setting of Further Education:

> The reading of appropriate books contributes to the moulding of character. What a powerful influence the writers of prose fiction have in imparting to people the unwritten laws ... the moral laws of meum and tuum and of the sacredness of human life and personality.[1]

This whole movement back towards 'enabling' pedagogies can be related to a growing groundswell, itself based on an increasing fear that traditional pedagogic methods and knowledge-bound curricula were failing.

Another development that encouraged this wider use of 'dramatic' devices in teaching was the growth of Management and Supervisory Studies at Sutton College during the late 1960s and early 1970s. There is some irony in the re-emergence of dramatic approaches in Management Studies, the flagship of the College's elite vocational provision. Geoff Blake, the Senior Lecturer in charge of the section, published recommendations arising out of his national research into methods for teaching supervisors,[2] an account which stressed the importance of role play, simulation, improvisation and games. Such teaching should

> provide the participant with opportunities to learn more about himself and his impact on others. A person can be taken out of his organizational role and put through a process which may lead him to redefine his own concept of his role... The aim is to get people to feel and behave differently, and not merely to think differently, with reference to the day-to-day handling of human problems.[3]

This justification for using methodologies derived from Drama links cognitive goals (thinking differently) to expressive goals (feeling differently), and this association continued to inform practice even though the course description retained its highly instrumental flavour.

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1 P. Gurney, Education and the Training of Teachers, London Longmans, 1963, p97.

2 G. Blake, Research into Methods of Teaching Supervisors, London, The Association of Teachers of Supervisory Studies, circa 1970.

3 Blake, p. 24.

Contemporaneously, a senior member of the General Studies Department worked with the Supervisory Lecturer to produce a framework for the teaching of Communication and Human Relations which also was highly dramatic in both methodology and content.

Blake re-emphasized the general importance of case study, games, improvisation and role playing[1], but offered little guidance about the particular contexts in which they should be applied. A subsequent development considerably fleshed out this skeleton when Blake established informal collaboration with a General Studies lecturer who was also an English Graduate with some experience of role play techniques, and who had been actively involved in the development of Drama since his appointment in 1963 until the formalization of the Drama syllabus, when his promotion to Senior Lecturer, then to Head of Department, and finally to Assistant Principal, reduced his class contact hours. Although Drama teaching as such was no longer on his timetable, interview transcripts indicate that he treated the assimilated epistemological and pedagogic bases and methods of Drama as generic, and took them with him into the area of Supervisory Studies,[2] and to his other new areas of responsibility. As his power-base extended, dramatic methods further infiltrated General Studies, Liberal Studies and the whole Humanities area.[3]

One interesting feature of this development was the emergence of radical 'teacher-in-role' techniques, a form of probing and experiential learning popularized by Dorothy Heathcote[4] and most effective when used to confront conflict situations through the deliberate deployment of

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1 Blake, pp2-3.
2 Transcript of Interview with Head of General Studies Department, 3 December, 1986.
3 ibid.
4 See, B.J. Wagner, Dorothy Heathcote: Drama as a Learning Medium, London, Hutchinson, 1979.

imaginative empathy. The 1969 tape recordings unfortunately give only the polished versions, so full documentation of the all-important process has not survived; nevertheless the catalyst role of the impromptu Drama is strikingly obvious. In 1987 the lecturer involved commented retrospectively on this period and stressed that the professional development of the supervisor benefitted from the possibility of fictive, and therefore safe, extended exploration. Drama, he felt, offered the opportunity to develop a 'reflective consciousness ... in which the individual could come to terms with, or challenge ... his environment'.[1] But how did this lie comfortably with the tutor's own instrumental teaching role? His answer was instructive:

> It could encourage some kind of resentment of existing situations - reaction against it. Yes, I accept that. But ultimately, everyone should be aware of the responsibility to self. This 'self-responsibility' is only valid if it is informed, conscious. As a teacher one has to take the risk that the process of informing, through the dramatic channel particularly, may result in challenge.[2]

He also saw dramatic technique as guaranteeing credibility through self-evident experiential authenticity:

> credibility [is important] both for the students and for myself. Unless I can believe in a situation, I cannot expect any student to believe. Any dramatic situation has to present genuine experience, otherwise it's empty, meaningless. Unless I share in an unpredicted outcome, then the process could be regarded as having been manipulated. Any development or outcome must be authentic, and must be perceived as such.

Both the tapes of 1969 and the retropective 1986 interview recall the description of role play in Drama Guidelines:

> The quality of belief will depend on the teacher's ability to believe fully in the situation himself. Drama must never be done with tongue in cheek - it will not work and will be a denial of the truth... Working in role with the class [is] one of the most basic and effective strategies which is

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1 Transcript of Interview with Head of General Studies Department, 3 December (our emphasis).

2 Transcript of Interview with Head of General Studies Department, 3 December, 1986.

> available to the Drama teacher. In role, the teacher is not acting, but is using a precise selectivity of gesture to reveal attitude... He multiplies the number of facilitations open to him. He can extend his pupils within the Drama process, and challenge them in a way which might not be possible as a teacher: he can be aggressive, he can move the Drama on, he can present alternatives. Role can be a very efficient way of finding a concrete focus for the lesson. It allows the teacher to affect materially what is happening, to make it significant, and to elevate it to a higher plane of existence.[1]

The tutor concerned is at the time of writing Assistant Principal and continues to support Drama politically although with some personal reservations. This confirms a tendency noted earlier, that 'expansionist' periods involving dramatic activity will, because of the career structure of the colleges, tend to leave a legacy of further indirect support as key people move into higher positions in the management structure. This tendency has the potential to act as a natural damper on subsequent moves against Drama.

We now turn to an example from these early tapes that shows how the 'migrating pedagogy' of Drama may also carry with it a capacity to re-focus the subject matter itself. The example is taken from Supervisory Studies, where the lesson content was concerned with disciplinary procedures. What follows is a brief synopsis of the tape, with verbatim quotes.

The teacher plays the role of a shop-floor supervisor, facing a shop steward who is complaining about the 3-day suspension of a co-worker, a suspension imposed as a result of an accident with a fork-lift truck. The character of the unseen and unrepresented worker, 'Fred Brown', is developed by both players. The players collude in diverting or sidetracking the negotiation into the irrelevant issue of canteen breaks, an issue only peripherally related to the 'content' of

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[1] C. O'Neill, A. Lambert, R. Linnell, and J. Warr-Wood, Drama Guidelines, London: Heinemann, 1976, p. 13.

the planned lesson. It is suggested here that the role play is an example of how Drama may not only survive inside the boundaries of ostensibly instrumental activity in the Further Education curriculum, but also 'naturally' encourage movement towards expressive realization, regardless of what its overt role might be. As noted earlier, an important proposition in this thesis is concerned with the settled tendency that expressive dramatic activity has to pull participants into situations of self-knowledge, where constraints and alternatives are recognized. The following dialogue, it is suggested, demonstrates in microcosm how such movement may occur. Beginning with a highly vocationally-circumscribed 'problem', the student is drawn into a more reflective position. The sub-text is one of 'challenge' to traditional hierarchical structures, and encodes the experience, perhaps previously unencountered, of achieving verbal equality with a recognized symbol of authority. On their own, however, the verbatim quotations fail to indicate the movements of sound and silence and paralinguistic cues which move the pedagogy from skills-rehearsal to dramatic inter-communication, in which the teacher, as well as the student, is faced with unpredicted outcomes. The following analysis takes account of these considerations by reference to auditory factors such as stress, intonation, volume, pace and pitch. This analysis underscores the basic assertion that the extract cited represents a dynamic dramatic interplay, and one essentially in conflict with the limited instrumental purposes of this particular Course:

Shop Steward	I hear they've suspended Fred Brown?
Supervisor	Oh Blimey! What? About that fork-lift truck business, you mean?
SS:	Come off it. You picked on him about six months ago - I had to come and see you 'cos you threatened to, er, sack him then; and now you're trying to get out of it.
Sup:	I'm not trying to get out of anything at all! - What's three days

suspension?
SS: Yeah, bit stiff wasn't it?
Sup: Well, he's been asking for it, hasn't he? Never got his mind on the job...

As we can see, the 'playlet' gets straight to the point. Although the role players at first employ the steady tone of interpersonal greeting, the style of interaction quickly becomes confrontational and emotive, with shouting and emphatic repetitions ('Listen, listen, listen to me ...'). The conflict is also becoming personalized, some emotional distance from any notion that the participants are in symbolic representational roles and have agreed procedures for handling complaints to fall back on. At this point an interesting mutation occurs in the content:

SS: Three days' suspension? That's three days' pay!
Sup: I can't help that - he should have thought of that before he had the accident
SS: Ah - come on - it wasn't his fault
Sup: Why wasn't it his fault? - Whose fault was it then?
SS: It's these brakes
Sup: [Confused] What do you mean, the breaks ... What've tea-breaks got to do with it?
SS: Well you bloody well know the service in the canteen just isn't on
Sup: Well that's nothing to do with the accident. What's that got to do with it?

What has happened is obvious, but can be interpreted at several levels. Because of the responsive nature of extempore role play, it is always taking off on associative links or semantic cues. Here the word 'brakes' is first introduced as the possible explanation for the accident with the fork-lift truck, but when the supervisor misreads 'brakes' as 'breaks' ('what have tea-breaks got to do with it?'), the student role player immediately switches the content area, entering a diatribe on canteen queues, which the lecturer's role play allows. The sub-text is now Sutton College's own management of its canteen facilities:

SS: Well, you're management aren't you?
Sup: It's not part of my business to lay down how long they have for breaks and you know it.
SS: Well, that's not the point. Have you told management how long ... that they're queuing for 10 minutes out of a 15 minute break?
Sup: Of course I haven't! They tell me how long personal breaks take. I don't tell them!
SS: Ah, look, look now. Let's just get this clear. Will you just tell management that my members are not satisfied with the service they're getting from the canteen?
Sup: I'll tell them now you've mentioned it, but you've never mentioned it before
SS: Oh, come on! You must be moving round with your eyes shut.

This shift in content is accompanied by a shift in the verbal cues, reinforced by the student asserting the lecturer's representative role, moving the basis of the interchange from personal to social. 'They' is suddenly employed as the appropriate personal pronoun rather than 'you' or 'I'.

Sup: You came in talking about the accident and you end up talking about the tea-break. Which is it to be?
SS: The tea-breaks are all part of it. If the tea-breaks service was better then he wouldn't have been rushing and we wouldn't have had an accident.
SS: Well, what are you going to do about it?
Sup: Well, we'd better arrange a proper meeting and discuss the tea-break question or have an enquiry on the accident as well

The conclusion is rather neat, almost reconciling the two agendas. It would not be too fanciful to suggest that the legitimacy of the sub-text depends to some extent on neo-Marxist assertions that conditions in educational institutions reflect thematically those of the work force under industrial conditions,[1] so that it would be emotionally easy for

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[1] See, for example, Samuel Bowles, 'Unequal Education and the Reproduction of the Social Division of Labour' in R. Dale, G. Esland, M. MacDonald, Schooling and Capitalism: A Sociological Reader, Routledge and Kegan Paul in association with the Open University, London, 1976, pp. 32-42, and Clarence J. Karier 'Business Values and the Educational State' in Schooling and Capitalism, pp. 21-31.

students to use role play to explore themes associated with their own position as members of a potentially alienated work force. Although not 'dangerous' in context, given the member of staff involved, the sequence does testify eloquently to the unreliability of Drama and its capacity for subversive misrule.

In addition to the widespread dissemination of Dramatic techniques like role play, improvisation and characterization through Communication in Management and Supervisory Studies, Speech continued to play an important cross-curriculum role, although of the facets of Drama, Speech per se is perhaps naturally the least subversive. Following the immediate post-war years, 'Speech' had remained an integral feature of Advanced, Intermediate and Elementary Secretarial Courses as well as courses concerned with Nursing and Caring. Throughout this period the teaching of Speech remained the responsibility of the Department of General Studies, but was allocated only to tutors who had Drama qualifications.[1]

The fact that Speech had become a 'closed shop' for Drama tutors led to an underacknowledged infiltration of a wider agenda into 'Speech' activity. In particular, there was a rejection of notions of accuracy and elocution in favour of the use of language in context. For some tutors this allowed Drama through the back door into the very heartland of Further Education's narrowly-instrumental teaching:

> It is unreasonable to expect that Speech can be taught outside of the Dramatic context.

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[1] 1970-1986:
Teachers of Speech - Qualifications
Lecturer i) 1975-ADB (ed), B.Ed (Drama) Univ of Birmingham
Lecturer ii) 1975-B.Ed (English and Drama) Univ of Birmingham, Dip. ESB, MA University of Warwick.
Lecturer iii) 1976-1985 BA (English/History) PGCE (English/Drama), Dip. ESB, Ph.D.
Lecturer iv) 1980- Ex Drama Adviser (Lancashire)

> I don't teach 'Speech'. I dislike the connotation - it suggests that I insist that students learn 'orf' in place of 'off'!
>
> It depends how you interpret 'Speech'. It generally suggests 'correct' pronunciation - something approximating to received pronunciation or standard English. This is totally artificial and, I think, could be personally damaging to the student. OK, I may have officially taught Speech - according to the timetable - right across the College ... Secretaries, General, Medical, Advanced, Nursery Nurses - the lot. But if you listen to my accent [markedly Black Country] you will hear that I could hardly set myself up to be a diction teacher. For me, Speech classes were the opportunity for the practice of Drama itself. The back-door, if you like, into an otherwise 'closed' curriculum.
>
> Speech classes would be soul-destroying without an imaginative context.[1]

Since both the Vocational and General examination syllabuses of the English Speaking Board could be adapted to a accommodate Drama, the tutors simply regarded the teaching of Speech as a convenient vehicle for the teaching of Drama. In doing so, they demonstrated a 'selective affinity' to their own reference groups,[2] in the teeth of what can be inferred from the instrumental arguments that put Speech on the Further Education curriculum in the first place. Evidence from student interviews confirmed the teachers' acknowledgement of this 'unofficial' Drama teaching. Many, like this Nursery Nurse student, approved of it:

> It gets us to think....it builds up our confidence...Only when we've got confidence in ourselves can we do anything with the children.[3]

But others, like this student of GCE Advanced level Business Studies, regarded it as an intrusion:

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1 Extracts from transcripts of Interviews with teachers of speech 1970-1986.

2 See H. Herbert and Eleanor Singer, Readings in Reference Group Theory, Collier Macmillan, London, 1908, particularly Chapters One and Two.

3 Transcript of Interview with second year student of NNEB, 1 December, 1986.

> It's artificial, silly. I don't like Drama. It's just false impressions all the time... funny faces. We're grown up now.[1]

Both views, however, reinforced the interpretation that unsanctioned and full-blooded Drama activity had begun to operate undercover in the areas officially designated as 'Speech'.

Towards the end of the 1970s, the teaching of non-examined Drama finally reappeared in the 'official' curriculum. The forerunners of the new trend were the Certificate in Further Education, and City and Guilds 365 (Vocational Preparation). In both courses, Drama was sanctioned as an important contribution to the 'personal development of the students'[2], a phrase openly acknowledging personal and expressive orientation. This formed the basis for the inclusion of Drama in Sutton College's implementation of the Joint Board's CPVE course.[3]

This move added strength to the previously precarious position of the Drama lecturers, and to some extent lifted the 'exclusion zone' which had built up around them. Their field of activity was apparently no longer to be confined to the 'A' level Course, or 'resistance' activity in Speech classes. Instead, the expertise of the Drama specialist became once again acknowledged in the developing student-centred courses.

Reflecting briefly on the period reviewed, Drama in Sutton College was subject to considerable vicissitudes and appeared in several guises under the press of current definitions and assumptions. It seems obvious, too, that the boundaries were both contested and infiltrated by a persistent latent tradition that sought a more expansionist role for

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1 Transcript of Interview with first year student of B.T.E.C. (Business Studies), 3 December, 1986.

2 S.C.C.F.E., Certificate in Further Education, Course Composition, 1980.
S.C.C.F.E., City and Guilds 365, (Voc. Prep. General), Course Composition, 1983-1984.

3 S.C.C.F.E., CPVE Course Programme, June 1985.

expressive elements in Drama. Constraints were experienced in several forms, particularly in how Drama's curriculum slot was defined, but those seeking to promote Drama could appeal beyond its expressive values to other institutional beliefs, particularly Further Education's developing commitment to entrepreneurialism and social prestige. An important consideration turned out to be the careers of individuals who supported Drama, moving up the hierarchy. Overall, the shifts appear messy, not easily attributable to a single theory, conspiracy-based or otherwise. But in general Sutton College exhibited the characteristics that caused us to place it in Box 4 of the two-by-two dichotomy in the first place, with surface features that rendered it pluralistic and opaque. We now turn to a number of critical incidents that reveal what happened which Drama was perceived as getting seriously out-of-line.

4. Recent History: Two Themes Elaborated

This final section of the case study of Drama at Sutton College brings the story up to date and benefits from the availability of contemporaneous interview data with staff and students as well as systematic observation during the period of the fieldwork.

To some extent this section attempts to extend the analysis that was offered in Chapter Four, Drama in Contemporary Further Education, to the circumstances of a single College, not by repeating coverage but by dealing with two significant themes in more depth. The first theme is Interest Groups, and we look at the role of the MSC in the evolving framework of statutory and de facto control, and the response of Sutton College to financial control in hard times.

a) Interest Groups

As outlined in Chapter Four, it is clear that Further Education is caught in the cross-fire between conflicting interest groups, many of which are powerful and coercive constituencies that the colleges ignore or underrate at their peril. The organizations currently with the greatest current capacity to instigate change are undoubtedly Employment Training Services and other training agencies. A vocal minority of Sutton tutors held with some vehemence that the original MSC influence should be systematically undermined and its interventions redirected subtly to more benign ends.

(i) The Manpower Services Commission and Employment Training

The lynch-pin of recent College-wide curriculum change, in staff perception at least, has been the Manpower Services Commission and Employment Training, which have played a significant part in recent expansion, providing more than 50% of the funding.[1] Judgements differed as to whether this signalled the emergence of a new centralized control underpinned by a crudely instrumental 'training' ideology, or whether in some circumstances, as with TVEI, those 'funded' could take the cheese without being caught in the trap of having fully to endorse the educational values associated with the 'investment'. Another anxiety was the extent to which such outside funding arrangements might undermine Sutton College's capacity to remain an idiosyncratic provider with its own distinctive niche.

The emergence of the MSC drew a two-fold reaction from Sutton staff. Whilst its funding and support were acknowledged as 'valuable', 'useful', 'vital', 'necessary' and 'important'[2], its purposes and methods

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1 Annual Programme, p. 2.

2 These terms are distributed widely through transcripts of interviews with lecturers across all subject disciplines.

were widely distrusted and disliked, as the following not untypical comments reveal:

> Half the time MSC don't know what they're talking about. They're a quango; they don't care about education. It's a numbers game. One more on MSC lists - one less off the unemployment lists - it's as simple as that.[1]

> It's too centralized. Its monitoring criteria are far too simplistic. It's more interested in numbers than trainees. It should concentrate more on content and delivery than on 'programmes' and 'schemes'.[2]

> It's more concerned with very short term palliatives than with long-term genuine education or 'planning'.[3]

It became clear that teaching staff at all levels were seeking to redirect the MSC initiative towards other more palliative agendas. The 'transparent' instrumental provision was being rendered 'opaque' in courteous translation, so that MSC became in some settings the actual vehicle for continuing and sustaining the latent liberal tradition. MSC-sponsored control failed, therefore, to achieve some of the ideological and instrumental ends that might plausibly be attributed to it. Some rather neat ploys and lines of argument developed. Since even hard-nosed, instrumentally-minded management saw it as legitimate to utilize MSC funds for such purposes as Special Needs and Community Services, it became possible in a purely tactical way to emphasize these facets of Drama and climb aboard the bandwaggon. The Special Needs group in the College, for example, further developed its already overt focus around Drama, and its programme continued to be taught by a Drama specialist. In effect, the MSC intervention was 'managed' so as not to marginalise Drama further, but to bridge the gap between what had become

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1 Transcript of Interview with Head of Engineering and Science, 10 September, 1986.

2 Transcript of Interview with Senior Lecturer in Business Studies (Management), 15 February 1987.

3 Transcript of Interview with Lecturer in General/Social Education, 27 February 1987.

a relatively-isolated 'Drama Section' and the rest of the College. This development, whilst ostensibly serving MSC's instrumental aims, allowed greater scope and a new legitimacy for the expressive role of Drama. It is safe to assume that this development was anticipated neither by MSC nor other training agencies.

Another paradox has been the further impetus given by central funding to Drama both in the College and the community. An MSC-funded local labour scheme resulted in a refurbishment of local provision:

> A Sutton Coldfield Arts Centre is nearing completion. The Theatre has undergone an £850,000 face-lift over the past four years, with the aid of local labour financed by the Manpower Services Commission.[1]

Another means by which the instrumental power of the MSC has been mediated and reinterpreted in the College is also nicely paradoxical. The MSC, most notably in TVEI,[2] espoused the fashionable but largely unexamined interest in 'Active Learning', itself carrying a preference for discovery-based over instructional learning. But this proved to be a two-edged sword, able, like literacy itself, to serve emancipation as well as subjugation; the skills that allow the oppressed to understand written instructions contain the germ of the skills that allow the same instructions to be challenged. Predictably, the latent liberal sub-culture of the College has been able to build on the legitimacy given to wider student-centred pedagogies, themselves directed instrumentally at getting the 'lessons' to 'stick', by treating the endorsement as if it recommended a genuine exploratory stance, with all learning including the implicit invitation to offer 'critique'. For the naked instrumentalist, the new pedagogical orthodoxy may well come to be viewed historically as

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1 Sutton Coldfield News, Friday 12 December, 1986, p. 24.

2 See, for example, Jenkins, D., Braithwaite, E. and Davies, R., Iniative: Take One: An Interim Report on Coventry TVEI, University of Warwick, 1985.

smiling 'at anything ... and therefore very dangerous'.[1] At all levels of seniority, Sutton staff testified to the growing practice of deliberately reorientating MSC courses by allowing the ideological assumptions of the programme to be undermined by the classroom strategies, which were perceived to be rooted in antithetical values.

In a reaction against what was even termed by one respondent as the cruelty of MSC, many staff refused to implement fully in practice what they perceived as a process of 'pigeonholing' clients and trainees. In channels such as the Restart programme, short courses for self-employment, and programmes for unemployed executives, 'personal development' agendas were consistently projected well beyond the strictly utilitarian aims and objectives of the programmes. A pedagogical inventiveness, using dramatic methods such as role play and simulation, was introduced unashamedly to promote individual self-awareness rather than narrow vocational competences. The Senior Lecturer in Adult Training and Retraining justified the 'alternative method'[2], arguing that once Drama was 'admitted' for such instrumental purposes as interview training, its expressive potential could not be ignored. In her view Sutton College had correctly to counterbalance MSC's ideological stance by deliberately 'reconstructing' the curriculum at the point of delivery.[3] The general point might be expressed, in the language of sailing, as Drama showing an ability to 'tack against the wind', making progress by redirecting very forces ranged against it.

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1 William Shakespeare, Julius Caesar, I, ii, 208-209.
2 Transcript of Interview with Senior Lecturer in Adult Training and Re-Training, 19 October, 1986
3 ibid.

(ii) Responding to the Cuts

The section on Interest Groups in Further Education[1] acknowledged the importance of direct and indirect financial control. An easy assumption is that times of financial hardship will push an institution back to its basic value orientation, encouraging it to trim non-essential or marginal activity. Such a model might have led us to have anticipated that by the end of the recent cuts, Sutton College would have drifted towards the core of instrumental vocationally-orientated provision that in general characterizes Further Education. But the following vignette shows this not to have been the case, since Drama was able to take tactical advantage of the volatile circumstances and actually strengthen its expressive contribution.

This paradox may seem less surprising when we consider the reasons. 'The cuts', as they came to be called, forced Sutton College to take a more aggressive entrepreneurial stance, and to develop new courses where opportunities arose. Any sense of the College having a particular educational niche receded before the dictates of survival politics. To withold resources is to surrender power, and this was immediately understood by senior management. An internal report of 1986 catches the flavour:

> The funding and power of local authorities has diminished owing to a prolonged period of financial cuts.[2]

There was a realization that 'provision may no longer reflect demand'.[3] The Principal responded by taking the view that the College might consider meeting student demand through 'alternative channels', believing that economically-funded work could be used to support 'much of the

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1 See above Chapter Four.
2 S.C.C.F.E., Report, of Staff Meeting held 27 June, 1986, R.H.Hollyhock, (Principal), 16 July, 1986.
3 Annual Programme, p. 3.

workings of more tertiary-style provision'.[1] This policy permitted the finances of the MSC and similar agencies to be utilized for the support of non-economic courses for which there was student demand and staff interest. In this trend a primary beneficiary was Drama.

There were, of course, limits to this trend set by the need to adjudicate between priorities. A recent example of a non-economic course under consideration concerned the possible re-introduction of a sub-'A' Level course in Drama. But despite a high level of student demand, reflected in application forms[2], and staff enthusiasm for the 1988-1990 GCSE syllabuses in Drama[3], there is at the time of writing little optimism that this development can get off the ground, because of policy restrictions on the number of GCSE students.[4]

By 1986 the climate of opinion was such under the new self-help entrepreneurialism that a course proposal could be put forward openly seeking to shift the teaching of AEB Theatre Studies towards the expressive concerns of Drama:

> Since the AEB Theatre Studies began, two things have become apparent: that the syllabus is too demanding to allow students to develop fully those skills which are involved in the practical paper. Therefore, I have identified four main areas of work which form the basis of a course: performance skills, Theatre crafts, development of personal and group imagination and sensitivity and appreciation of the medium. The course will be followed in conjunction with a GCSE programme and should provide the appropriate balance between academic and practical work.[5]

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1 Report on Staff Meeting, p. 2.
2 Transcript of Interview with Deputy Head of General Studies, 12 December, 1986.
3 Transcript of Interview with Lecturer in Charge of Speech and Drama, 12 January, 1987.
4 Annual Programme, p. 8.
5 SCCFE, Course Proposal, Course in Performance Arts, G McNally, Sutton College, March, 1986, p1.

As this extract makes clear, the course proposal is openly disrespectful to any notion that Further Education ought to espouse an instrumental vocationalism. The implication is that tutors at that time felt able to treat Sutton College internally as if it were indeed the opaque pluralistic milieu identified as Box 4 in the two-by-two dichotomy analysed above.

b) Growth Points

This section compares and contrasts two growth points in the moral history of Drama during this 'expansionist' phase, the position of Drama in Integrated Studies and its position in CPVE. If Drama has an abiding critical role, and if the generalization holds that institutions either assimilate or reject potential sources of criticism, then each vignette may be considered as evidencing arrival at the point where organized resistance is forthcoming. In the first example, the resistance was mounted by low or mid-status personnel, the technical operatives of the old dominant instrumentalism, who feared the loss of their safe but subordinate roles; unsurprisingly, the potential insurrection was contained at the level of institutional gossip and grumbling. In the second example, the seeds sown are ones that eventually reap the whirlwind, perhaps because the offended parties were those holding the highest positions in the College hierarchy.

During the period under review the College was undertaking far-reaching organizational and curriculum changes, the most dramatic (with a small 'd') of which was a shift towards employing organizational categories of the curriculum which were supra-subject, using some form of integration. Interviews with colleagues revealed the widely-held perception that this was the single most significant influence on pedagogical practice. The significance of thematic or cross-discipline

approaches with their fostered resonances and juxtapositions altered the epistemology of transmission associated with subject-based teaching. One impetus towards cross-disciplinary curriculum organization came from Sutton College's 'entrepreneurial'[1] Principal, who allowed management 'job descriptions' to develop in a way calculated to limit the authority of the more traditional subject areas:

> Any debate upon the relative merits of a vertical line management system or a horizontal system, is sterile ... Structure is continually under review inside the College, and all posts vacancies and upgradings have job specifications which reflect this philosophy.[2]

Several appointments, in particular, reflected 'joint sections' or in other ways indicated that responsibilities were to be seen as interdepartmental.[3]

Another impetus towards integration was an escalation of number of courses taught at Sutton under the auspices of various examining or validating bodies whose curriculum philosophy required a transcending of subject boundaries. This is reflected in the table below:

Figure 2

The Variety of Integrated Courses at Sutton Coldfield College of Further Education:

EXAMINING/VALIDATING BODY	COURSES IN SUTTON COLLEGE
Business and Technician Education Council	Finance and Distribution Diploma in General Art and Design Diploma in Graphic Design Design Diploma (National) Business Awards (First) Business Awards (National) Diploma in Performing Arts

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1 Transcript of Interview with Principal, 18 November, 1986.

2 ibid.

3 Senior Appointments recently include: Deputy Head of General Studies, (1986); Head of Marketing, (1986); B.T.E.C. Co-ordinator, (1986); Cross-college Staff Development Co-ordinator, (1986).
Restructuring: English is no longer a free-standing section, but combined into 'Communication, English and General Studies', under the joint leadership of SL's in 'English and Liberal/General and Communication Studies'.

EXAMINING/VALIDATING BODY	COURSES IN SUTTON COLLEGE
TVEI - BTEC	Engineering (First Award) Diploma in Design Technology
City and Guilds	Catering 705, 706/1/2 and 707/2 Certificate in Home Economics Family and Community TV and Video Studies
Nursery Nursing Examination Board	NNEB 2-year
Joint Board for Pre-Vocational Education	CPVE
National Examination Board for Supervisory Studies	NEBSS (Certificate) NEBSS (Diploma)

Two Heads of Department described the introduction of integrated curricula as an 'explosion'.[1] That the suddenness of the shift had created some problems of adaptation in the College might be inferred from a comment in the Annual Programme:

> The accelerating rate of curriculum change and the necessity to respond quickly to external needs has brought staff training sharply into focus, because this is a labour-intensive industry and the updated skills of the workforce are essential to a provision of quality.[2]

In spite of this rhetorical reference to the 'updated skills of the workforce', the broad thrust of curriculum integration had been towards a more liberated pedagogy, particularly as interpreted by opportunist liberally-minded colleagues. Unsurprisingly, the trend was contested, and a backlash developed; there was considerable resistance from staff in the more traditionally isolated subjects. The following quote may be considered typical:

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1 Transcript of Interview with Head of General Studies, 3 December, 1986 and Transcript of Interview with Head of Engineering and Science, 10 September, 1986.

2 Annual Programme, p. 4.

> I don't see how or why I should have to assess the oral skills of twenty eight individual students when I am teaching statistics. How can I get them to role play a balance sheet?[1]

This last comment underlines that the model of integration that was emerging did not seek merely to range a variety of cognitive approaches around a single topic, but also to juxtapose thought and feeling, the cognitive and the affective. The Business Studies tutor's observation is also based on resentment that he was obliged to work in inappropriately juxtaposed models of enquiry. Similar comments were made by lecturers in Engineering and Science:

> If I were to try to get these lads to 'pretend' a realistic situation, they'd be out of that door and vanish down to the pub ... Surely, I'm supposed to be teaching them basic formulae. What's the good of sending them out to calculate the depth of tyre treads, if they come back with twenty different answers?[2]

Although the comments may appear superficially flippant, they disguise an underlying genuine fear. Many vocational lecturers in vocational subjects have no formal teacher training, or sophisticated ideas about curriculum organization or alternative pedagogies. Their self-identified and publically acknowledged 'expertise' is founded upon narrow subject specialisms:

> I'm an engineer. I don't understand all this profile business, and what is student-centred learning? As far as I can see, its just letting them run wild.[3]

> I always thought that factual knowledge was most important, but that doesn't seem to count anymore.[4]

> I'm an accountant first, a lecturer second.[5]

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1 Transcript of Interview with Lecturer II in Business Studies, 8 January, 1987.
2 Transcript of Interview with Lecturer in Engineering and Science, 19 October 1986.
3 ibid.
4 Transcript of Interview with Lecturer II in Business Studies, 8 January, 1987.
5 Transcript of Interview with Lecturer II in Business Studies (Accounts), 9 January, 1987.

These fears were exaggerated by the national bodies' insistence upon visibly integrated and student-centred courses, an insistence that appeared to be moving the overt curriculum from the generation of specific skills-based knowledge to a broader 'core' content, a move seemingly antithetical to the instrumental role of Further Education. The threat had also been made more tangible and immediate by the presence of external moderators in the College. The Moderator's Reports for BTEC Business between 1986 and 1989 were unfavourable, resulting in a curtailed validation period. Criticisms centred around the continued absence of student-centred and activity-based learning. The problem was correctly perceived to be wide one. Subject teachers of Economics, Accounts and Law had also consistently opposed integrated learning strategies, and had continued to deliver lectures on subject-specific concerns in isolated units, as islands separated from the curriculum mainland. For instance, the unit 'People in Organizations' retained essay-style questions for the Christmas Test of 1986, with no attempts made to contextulise the issues:

> 1. Describe and discuss the relative merits of three different management styles.

Such practices are antithetical to BTEC's Guidelines, which state:

> assignments should rest on a scenario - a concrete description of a setting or sequence of events. Ideally, the detail will be contemporary as well as realistic, credible to the students who are to use it, and normally in an easily understood style and format ... The assignment should normally specify a role for the student ... An assignment should contain more than a single task ... The student should have to use different forms of media of communication.[1]

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[1] B.T.E.C Guidelines, p. 14. The words of the Guidelines, from the standpoint of those seeking to enhance the role of Drama across the curriculum are replete with implicit opportunity, ('Scenario ... realistic ... credible ... role ... different media of communication'.)

It was compliance with these guidelines that the current moderator noted as missing. Some of the more recalcitrant of the traditional teachers, by then themselves redefined as deviant, refused either to countenance this notion or put it into decent practice. Their opinion of the arguments justifying integrated courses remained low. In particular, pedagogic techniques derived from Drama such as role play, group work and simulation received hostile comments perceiving them as 'nonsense'[1], or a 'waste of time'.[2] One BTEC co-ordinator admitted during an informal interview:

> I haven't got a clue about role play, simulation, the assessment of oral communication in context, and I'm sure the others haven't either.[3]

At this point a rich irony might be observed from the standpoint of the analysis put forward in this thesis. If the milieu of Sutton College was evidencing a new pluralism, it was certainly a contested pluralism, with the situation both complex and opaque. Both the liberals and the instrumentalists developed ploys and postures to subvert at crucial points the arguments of their opponents, and sham bargaining counters were played without shame. For example, some of the traditional instrumentalists declared themselves willing to accept 'training' in how Drama-based pedagogies might support the required shift to student-centred learning, but by their use of the term 'training', itself ironic in context, clearly sought to coopt the new possibilities within the old value system. Similarly, Drama tutors saw undreamed-of opportunities of opening up 'expressive cells' in the heartland of the College's

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1 Transcript of Interview with Lecturer II in Business Studies, 16 February, 1987.
2 Transcript of Interview with Lecturer II in Business Studies, 18 February, 1987.
3 Transcript of Informal Interview with Senior Lecturer in Business Studies, 7 November, 1986.

instrumental provision, rather like the IRA suddenly finding itself with more recruits than it could handle after Bloody Sunday. A BTEC course team meeting of November 1986 noted that a named lecturer in Communication and Drama was:

> willing to demonstrate and discuss the major problems associated with the teaching and assessment of role play, simulation and gaming.[1]

A further local factor lay behind this apparent emphatic endorsement of Drama in integrated courses at Sutton College. Fortuitously, the assessor himself had strong associations with expressive Drama as well as Communication Studies; his published works are concerned almost exclusively with dramatic methods of teaching in vocational contexts.[2] The new sympathy towards dramatic expression might, therefore, be cynically interpreted as the College's pragmatic and expedient temporary solution to the demands of an idiosyncratic representative of a national examining body. If so, there is a passing confirmation of the theoretical 'personality-dependence' of some forms of institutional reform. The College BTEC coordinator summarized what he felt the specialist teachers were likely to accept by the way of limited technical assistance if it were not presented as part of a generalized staff development programme:

> Specialist staff are going to be deeply suspicious, bloody-minded even, if an overall staff development programme is thrust upon them. It's too general; it threatens their specialist knowledge too much. On the other hand, they may regard the Drama specialist with expert knowledge of role play and student-centred learning as an 'acceptable' specialist, whose specialism lied in methods of application. The Communication/Drama specialist possesses his own validity. Subject teachers can accept that when they cannot

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1 BTEC Course Meeting, Minutes, 29 November, 1986.
2 For example, John Gardner, People and Communication, London, McGraw-Hill, 1985.

> and will not accept what they regard as 'preaching' within the framework of general staff development.[1]

If the circumstances permitted Drama to be invited to the feast, tutors still had some choice as to the extent that they allowed it to become an unruly guest.

(ii) Drama in CPVE

It was in courses at lower academic levels with non-traditional students[2] that the contribution of Drama to integrated courses was most openly subversive. One explanation is that low-prestige courses are less rigorously defended by the supporters of the status quo against ideological undermining. CPVE at Sutton College endorsed Drama in three distinct roles:

> (i) as a methodological tool of potential usefulness in all subject areas,
> (ii) as a discrete subject offering,
> (iii) as an integral component of staff development.[3]

The College CPVE coordinator argued that Drama was essential to the course if it were not to become 'a reinforcement of failure', since CPVE could itself be regarded as an 'alternative to academic study'.[4] Many students had previously unsuccessfully studied for GCE or GCSE examinations at school. If the label of 'failure' was to be removed, the coordinator concluded, then the individual had to regain self respect by 'shifting blame' to the social/educational context:

> Through Drama, the individual can be eased into a conscious awareness of society's flaws. Through a comparative experience of differentiated roles, the student realises that he can question his place, rather than merely accept an inferior position.[5]

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1 Transcript of Interview with Senior Lecturer in Business Studies, 7 November, 1986.
2 James Avis, 'ABC and the New Vocational Consensus', JFHE, 7 (1), Spring 1983, pp. 24-31.
3 Annual Programme, p. 45.
4 Transcript of Interview with Senior Lecturer (CPVE) 1986-87, 13 January, 1987.
5 ibid.

This statement strongly endorses the capacity of Drama to generate a cultural critique, itself potentially counter-hegemonic in purpose as well as result. Pedagogies derived from Drama were allowed to infiltrate CPVE at every level, throughout both core and vocational modules. Lecturers' schemes of work and lesson plans reflected these intentions. Examples included:

> Communication
> Classroom activity - dramatic improvisation of class/race conflict to develop questioning skills.[1]
> Studio work - Improvisation and scripting of plays of social conflict.[2] Media studies - Improvisation, role play and scripting.[3]
> Business Studies
> Improvisation and role play, Committee meetings.[4]
> Caring Skills
> Improvisation, role play and scripting.[5]

The renewed emphasis upon social change and conflict at Sutton shifted the pedagogy of skills teaching in CPVE beyond the epistemological limits of class-bound subject knowledge into the challenging area of cultural critique, with students encouraged to ask 'Why?' as well as 'How?' in direct contradiction to the functional instrumental ideology of the CPVE course as outlined in official documents. The explicit recognition of Drama as an option module in Sutton's CPVE programme also demonstrated the perceived legitimacy of a strong expressive channel in an instrumental course. This module united the CPVE course, the Drama section and the Multi-cultural Unit in an 'official' production for Christmas 1986. The next phase of the conflict began here.

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1 Material provided after Interview with Lecturer in English and Communication, 1 May, 1987.
2 Material provided after Interview with Lecturer II in General/Media Studies, 7 May, 1987.
3 ibid.
4 Material provided after Interview with Lecturer II in Business Studies, 12 January, 1987.
5 Material provided after Interview with Head of Health and Community Studies, 8 September, 1986.

We now pinpoint an event of great significance in the history of Drama at Sutton, the point at which the resurgent liberal and expressive elements focussed around Drama definitively and unambiguously crossed an imaginary demarcation line and attracted the coercive interest of those managing the forces of social control in the College. Not only were those responsible punished for their hubris, but the whole circumstances allowed the instigation of a sustained campaign of critical action against Drama. The explanation for the remarkable success of the counter insurgence bears directly on the theoretical issues at the heart of this thesis. The problem appeared suddenly, almost out of a cloudless sky, and arose directly from the CPVE courses featured above.

Student interest in the Drama module of the CPVE course had been so great and so demanding that a student/staff scripted 'pantomime' was produced for performance in local schools in 1986. The writing was co-ordinated by a Speech and Drama lecturer, and it was produced by a lecturer in the Multi-Cultural Unit. It took the form of fantasy which recognised clearly the social inequalities which students of the CPVE course felt able to challenge through their individual and collective perceptions. The pantomime carried the suggestive title The Trial of Goldilocks. It became quickly apparent that Goldilocks was a political allegory, and that the title character represented to a large extent the current Prime Minister.[1] The dramatic focus, building on the sometimes explicit political criticism and challenge that tutors had built into the CPVE course, seemed little in harmony with the stated vocational aims of the Joint Board's syllabus. It did, however, historically represent a

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[1] SCCFE, The Trial of Goldilocks, G.McNally/G.Patrick, December 1986.

final flowering of the College's permissiveness towards the accommodation of emancipatory expressive education in an overtly instrumental setting. There was also a more personal dimension as one particular tutor, radical, black, and only recently transferred from Handsworth College, used the pantomime as a personal political statement, and involved her students in its expressive and radical politics. The event was seen as going beyond legitimate contained self-expression towards actual political subversion, made worse by the fact that the production was being taken to local schools. The response was for the latent forces of social control to close in in anger and embarrassment, so the modus operandi of social control shifted abruptly from equivocal consensus (hegemonic assumptions lightly asserted because generally agreed to) to outright coercion. The events are crucial to the argument of this thesis, and we make no apology for the detailed account.

With the exception of Goldilocks herself, all of the characters in The Trial of Goldilocks are bears, a circumstance which carried faint echoes of animal allegory in the Animal Farm tradition. Other characters, including Mr Justice Paddington Bear, Mr Pooh Bear, Chief Justice Yogi Bear and the three Bears (Daddy Alistair A. Milne, Mummy Miska and Baby Koala Bear), indicate the mock nursery tale setting of the play. The title of Maitre Camembert, a French judge, indicates the rather obvious humour which characterizes some parts of the playlet. All of the characters wear masks, and it is specified that Goldilocks' mask should resemble Mrs Thatcher. Since all of the other bears' masks represent fictional and largely indistinguishable figures, it is inevitable that Goldilocks, as a transparent Mrs Thatcher, will be isolated, indeed 'set up', as a rather obvious political target even in terms of visual appearance.

The story is on the surface a simple one; Goldilocks (Mrs Thatcher) is brought before a court charged with breaking, entering and causing malicious damage to the Three Bears' home which was identified as being Lime Grove. Following evidence which is largely irrelevant to the initial charge, consisting as it does of an admixture of topical political jokes and tediously obvious general puns, Goldilocks (Mrs Thatcher) launches into a tirade of self-justifiction. She justifies her 'criminal' actions by referring to the subversive activities of the BBC which, she states, require her pesonal intervention. The three 'judges' (Paddington, Yogi and Camembert) find Goldilocks guilty as charged and 'sentence' her 'to ten years, to be served in Number 10 Downing Street'. With complete disregard both for her actions and for the procedures of the Court, Goldilocks abruptly ends the play by producing the new Chairman 'Duke Hussey', portrayed in a way clearly intended to suggest a transvestite, who had been waiting for this announcement as merely providing the rubber-stamp to a fait accompli.

The playlet was clearly a political satire. Its literary, dramatic and intellectual qualities, however, were embarrassingly uneven. This raises some interesting questions about the intentions and indeed the authorship of the playlet, which was supposedly student-written in the main. The opening stage directions clearly demonstrate an unsophisticated approach:

> Paddington Bear has a blue duffle coat and a floppy black hat, with marmalade sandwiches underneath it. Camembert has a black beret and a string of onions. Yogi Bear has a small black hat. Pooh Bear has a honey pot in front of him. Grizzly Bear has a streaming cold and a large handkerchief.

The references to 'marmalade sandwiches ... a string of onions ... a small black hat ... a honey pot ... a streaming cold and a large handkerchief' evidence some elements of satire, but clearly the satire was undirected,

owing more to racial stereotypes portrayed in child-related media channels than to any conscious political commentary. As soon as the dialogue commences, however, there is a radical change in both register and sub-text:

> Clerk: Silence in Court! Put up the defendant. Goldilocks, you are charged with breaking and entering Lime Grove, the home of the Bear family, malicious damage, to whit breaking one chair, theft of one bowl of porridge, being found asleep on enclosed premises, and assaulting a police officer whilst attempting to escape. How do you plead, guilty or not guilty?

In this extract we can see that the earlier undirected satire has become codified and sharpened. In the first place, the clearly-defined Court setting offers (as with all plays concerned with legal jurisdiction) the probability of some form of adjudication. Secondly, we are now presented with a detailed and biting focus for the satire which is to form the controversial sub-text of the play. Goldilocks (Mrs Thatcher) has 'broken and entered Lime Grove', the inherent violence of such a criminal act suggesting the distaste with which the writer(s) view the present Government. In so doing, Mrs Thatcher, in her disguised <u>persona</u> as Goldilocks, has obviously transgressed even the notional concept of media independence. With Goldilocks' intrusion into Lime Grove we are unequivocally presented with a moral objection to the interference of political power in the media. The event also signals a marked shift in the linguistic register, which the emergence of a complex sentence-structure which lies oddly against the simple constructs of the opening stage direction ('Yogi Bear has a small black hat'). However, the playlet swiftly moves away from subtle complexities, and in the following extract we see a return to a simplistic preoccupation with jokes based on national stereotypes:

Yogi: Hey Bud, don't call me a lord! We in the US of A Supreme Court don't go in for that nonsense.

Camembert: I quite agree mon ami Yogi. In la belle France, all judges are representatives of the people.....

Judge: Thank you maitre Camembert. May we continue? Mr Pooh Bear, you are prosecuting in this case? Proceed.

In this extract we can see that even the simple phrases used in the national stereotypes 'joke' ('Hye Bud, ... mon ami Yogi ... la belle France') are themselves 'stock' responses, well-worn and bearing no more semantic weight than their face-value suggests. The puzzle persists as we move on a little further:

Pooh: Mr and Mrs Bear and their son Koala, live in Lime Grove, a highly desirable residence in West London. On the day in question, Ms Miska Bear had prepared a meal of whole grain porridge from the Edwina Currie Cookbook, but before the family could eat it, they had an urgent business call and all three left the house. When they returned 2 hours later, they found a ground floor window had been broken, one of the bowls of porridge was empty, and a chair had been broken beyond repair. When they went upstairs they found the defendant, Goldilocks, asleep on the bed. She woke up, avoided the three bears, and ran out of the building.

Again we note a shift in what we could term linguistic competence in its broadest sense, with longer sentences, use of subordinate clauses and greater overall fluency:

> As she did so, she met a police officer and struck him on the head with her handbag, necessitating hospital treatment, which it is hoped might be arranged in the next six months.

This contrasts in a strangely discordant note with the idiomatic phraseology of much of the dialogue:

> We in the US of A Supreme Court don't go in for that nonsense.

Moreover, we find that even incidental or digressionary humour is sometimes delivered with a cutting wit which is specifically anti-Government, sometimes aimed at individuals ('Whole grain porridge from the Edwina Currie Cookbook'), and sometimes aimed at institutions which are clearly linked to a failure in Government policy

('necessitating hospital treatment, which it is hoped might be arranged in the next six months'). At times the light-heartedness turns a little sour, and beneath the over-exaggerated jest we can detect a sense of genuine disgust:

Pooh: Did you find the (vicious and depraved, self styled Prime Minister) defendant, Goldilocks in your beautiful home, illegally, having stolen the food from your child's mouth, broken some of the valuable furniture in your gracious dwelling and foully despoiling your child's best quality bedding, and furthermore, did you witness her vile and unprovoked attack on a brave custodian of the peace, to whit, one police officer, who is now a bear with a sore head?

The sense of disgust, together with sustained fluency, is markedly absent in other parts of the playlet. Sometimes this quality of unevenness is marked by 'empty' dialogue:

Goldilocks: Quite. Now, you are the Director General of the BBC, are you not, the Bears' Broadcasting Corporation?
Mr Bear: Yes.
Goldilocks: You live in a flat over the TV Centre at Lime Grove?
Mr Bear: Yes.
Goldilocks: No further questions.

Sometimes there is an evident recourse to 'mass-appeal' humour in which 'trigger' words or phrases are used on a principle similar to Pavlov's progammably salivating dogs:

Goldilocks: ... aided and abetted by the comrades, commissars and fellow travellers of ILEA, which we all know stands for Idiotic Loony Establishment Attackers. That's enough Koala. Stop snivelling and sit down.
Koala: (muttering) I'll bring Esther Rantzen, I will.

Words and phrases such as Comrades, commissars ... Loony ... Esther Rantzen', have become cliches of humour, so well-known and such easy targets for would-be satire that although laughter might be a predictable outcome, the humour aroused would be almost an automatic response and to that extent devoid of cutting challenge or criticism. Such humour, it might be argued, although satirical in form, is culturally 'safe', with

Mrs Thatcher's oft-attributed 'handbagging' as a barely amusing paradigm example. The CPVE's Trial of Goldilocks did not, however, restrict itself to safe-ground. The distinction between culturally 'safe' and culturally 'threatening', in terms of the existing status quo, is a subtle one and rests mainly upon convention. Thus, although the conventions open political figures to name-calling, as when The Trial of Goldilocks makes reference to Neil Kinnock as 'The Welsh Windbag', there are limits to what is considered comfortable in particular settings. As Woods has pointed out, the teacher's role is a particularly 'touchy' one for the expression of personal ideologies.[1] Humour can be acceptable in a way that bad-tempered jest cannot, yet this is the fire, given the setting, that The Trial of Goldilocks elected to play with:

> Pooh: I will now sum up the prosecution case. She's guilty. She must be, she's a Tory. That's enough to convict her of anything.

Only the final utterances of Goldilocks gets close to the satirical mood that the play originally promised:

> Goldilocks: I then turned my attention to the chairs. It is my job to appoint a Chairman of the BBC, and if I want to smash a chair - that dreadful word used by the Welsh Windbag and his confederates - I will do so . . .
>
> Mr Pooh, this case stinks! I intend to appoint a new Chairman of the BBC, to root out corruption, restore moral values and support the Tory Party. Come in Mr Hussey. (Duke Hussey enters, in drag, very camp.)

Rather than being a semi-satirical dramatic reconstruction of a well-publicized incident concerning the Government and the Media (in which we might ordinarily expect CPVE students to take more than a passing interest because of their highly profiled Communication and Media Studies Units at Sutton College, we see the embryonic emergence of overt

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[1] Peter Woods, 'Teacher, Self and Curriculum' in Goodson and Ball, Defining the Curriculum, pp. 239-261, pp. 256-260.

political challenge. The Trial of Goldilocks was clearly intended as a political statement that Britain has become a facist-style autocracy in which constitutional checks and balances are systematically ignored, although the rhetoric of democracy remains:

> Goldilocks: I consider this to be a vital case for the future of Britain as a democratic country. My security advisers have for some time been warning me of the subversive activities of the BBC, so I decided to take direct action.

The above analysis of The Trial of Goldilocks raises some interesting questions. The original Assignment Guidelines for the project clearly indicated that ideas and scripting were to be the sole responsibility of students, with lecturers assuming only a co-ordinating, editorial role.[1] Our analysis rather obviously suggests that the tutors' roles were more active than the guidelines suggested. During interview, both tutors were adamant that the basic scenario arose from student discussion and a general feeling that working with masks in a fairy-tale setting would be a suitable medium for performing the 'Pantomime' in local schools.[2] However, the Drama section leader also admitted that the envisaged process has in practice proved to be 'a shambles, a total farce'.[3] He had three major criticisms of the original assignment. The script had proved

> impossible to put together. It was like the worst 'committee camel' that you could ever imagine.[4]

A further difficulty had arisen from increasing tensions between different ideological commitments towards multi-racialism in the group, a

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1 Materials provided after Interview with Senior Lecturer (CPVE), 13 January 1987.

2 Information obtained from Senior Lecturer (CPVE) 13 January 1987. Information obtained from Lecturer-in-Charge of Drama (Section Head, 15 January 1987.

3 Transcript of Interview with Lecturer-in-Charge of Drama, 15 January 1987.

4 ibid.

problem acknowledged by CPVE tutors generally.[1] In passing it is probably useful to note that the tensions between the Russian French and American 'Bears' of the play were likely to be a distanced re-working of the contemporaneous conflict between Afro-Caribbean, Asian and English group members. The section leader's third objection arose from the treatment of the subject-matter of the developing activity. The Drama tutor felt that although the original concept of the portrayal of conflict between current government and the BBC held potential for individual exploration, the inspiration (and early drafts of the script) had rapidly deteriorated. In his own words:

> The ideas had descended into non-productive silliness. We had two 'prima donnas'. One spent her time on practising an excruciating impression of Thatcher; the second (acting under some delusion that A.A. Milne and Christopher Robin were one and the same person) just minced around lisping. It was relatively easy for him to get some laughs by doing that.[2]

With the compliance of the CPVE co-ordinator[3], the Drama lecturer had illicitly distilled the students' tentative ideas in a manner not far removed from the secret manufacture of spirits during prohibition. He remained loyal to the original story-line and setting, but 'fleshed out' the incidents with political contributions of his own, bringing into focus the moral ambiguity of using a supposedly student-originated play as a vehicle for tutors' personal political views. Both the Drama tutor and the CPVE tutor defended the action on the grounds that the revised play provided a genuine learning experience. An unpredicted outcome of The Trial of Goldilocks was some diffusion of racist tensions among CPVE students.

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1 Recorded in field notes of Interview with Senior Lecturer (CPVE) 13 January 1987.

2 Transcript of Interview with Lecturer-in-Charge of Drama, 15 January 1987.

3 Recorded in field notes of Interview with Senior Lecturer (CPVE) 13 January 1987.

> Well, they [the students] could see the absurdity of the conflict between the American, Russian and French bears. It does not take a large leap to relate that absurdity to one's own situation. And anyway, if you are working towards any form of Drama production, there is no time for race or any pre-set conflicts. Its either get on with or get out.[1]

Opposition to Drama in CPVE did, however, occur at a grass-roots level to an extent which forced management to reconsider its ostensibly benign and paternalistic attitude towards Drama for the traditional under-achievers on the CPVE course.

Immediately after the performances of The Trial of Goldilocks, complaints began to pour in from vocational tutors working on the CPVE course. The complaints ranged from practical objections to the 'wastage' of teaching hours, as the following comment illustrates:

> Syllabus coverage for the preparatory unit (Business Studies) has been impossible due to the inordinate amount of time spent on rehearsals for the Christmas Show (sic)[2];

to criticisms clearly grounded in political views which were antithetical to those espoused in The Trial of Goldilocks, which was seen as

> just bloody left-wing propaganda.[3]

Wary of the rift which threatened to appear between General Education tutors and vocational staff members, and unable to predict with any confidence the likely response of the external course assessors, Sutton College senior management undertook hasty consultations as a result of which Drama personnel and sympathisers were instructed to 'back off'.[4] Further 'core' assignments revolving around Drama were prohibited[5] and

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1 Transcript of Interview with Lecture-in-Charge of Drama, 15 January 1987.
2 Transcript of Interview with Lecturer in Business Studies, 8 January 1987.
3 Transcript of Interview with Lecturer II in Business Studies, responsible for Accounts, 9 January 1987.
4 Quoted in Interview with Lecturer-in-Charge of Drama, 15 January 1987.
5 Information gained from Interview with Lecturer-in-Charge of Drama, 15 January 1987.

ironically (given the supposed fully integrated curricular approach of the CPVE Course) Drama activities were again confined strictly to specific 'slots' in the timetable.[1] A general aura of embarrassment prevailed. But the instrumental vocationalists had won a significant victory.

c) The Empire Strikes Back

We finally turn our attention to a very recent crisis for Drama and its practitioners at Sutton College. To some extent it was a continuation of the strife initiated by The Trial of Goldilocks, and again featured a Dramatic performance to which senior management objected. But this time the counter moves were sharper and went beyond verbal expressions of disagreement and in-house curriculum coercion. The 'crisis' concerned staffing changes in Drama personnel in an atmosphere characterized by the phrase 'an open secret'. The Drama Section Leader had become very dissatisfied with his post by September 1987, vividly describing his desire to terminate contract:

I just want to get out[2]

His attitude seemed at odds with the apparent successes of the Drama Department, a 'success' measured in terms of examination pass-rates (which had reached 100%[3]) and external recognition, both in reputation and in highly tangible financial rewards (including material assistance for College refurbishment.[4]) Yet he felt unsupported and 'unloved' and was clearly unhappy with his trapped position, feeling that Drama was

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1 ibid.
2 Transcript of Interview with Lecturer in Charge of Drama, 21 September, 1987.
3 Sutton Coldfield College of Further Education, Examination Statistics: 1987, SCCFE.
4 Sutton Coldfield Combined Charities, Press Release, Sutton Coldfield, September 1987.

being 'stifled'.[1] He could not present hard evidence in support of his accusations, but cited a series of small-scale irritations which he felt aggregated into an attempt to erode his position and autonomy:

> I'm fed up with these constant so-called official register 'audits'. If they're so official, then why haven't other subject heads been required to submit their registers so often?[2]

In a similar vein, he described the way in which the Drama area seemed to be constantly 'patrolled' by members of the College management:

> Whenever I turn round, there's someone peering round the studio door or creeping round the greenroom. The other day I caught the Vice-Principal crouched down in the balcony while I was teaching a group.[3]

The lecturer asserted his discontent more practically when he started making 'saturation' applications for other Drama posts from September 1987.[4] It was perhaps a tribute to the reputation of Drama at Sutton College that he was able to move so quickly to a prestigious post. But the mechanisms which facilitated the move need to be viewed carefully. Undoubtedly, his success must in part be attributed to determination to move from an environment which he felt was increasingly, if covertly, unsympathetic to Drama. But he must also, in the then climate of competition, have attracted a 'glowing' reference from the College even though management was at that time seeking to curb and dilute the increasingly expressive role of the Drama Department. There is some evidence for the conjecture that College management found his departure useful in what was rapidly becoming their campaign against Drama, since they waived the statutory period of notice, permitting him to take up his post early, in spite of leaving the Drama Section severely understaffed

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1 Transcript of Interview with Lecturer-in-Charge of Drama, 21 September 1987.
2 ibid.
3 Transcript of Interview with Lecturer-in-Charge of Drama, 21 September, 1987.
4 ibid.

and without a specialist leader for the period from January to mid-April 1988, since a replacement could not be appointed until the beginning of the Easter term. If we are to make sense of this apparently careless attitude towards staffing on the part of the College management, we need to place it against the whole history of tension and conflict surrounding the role of Drama in the College, an argument having consequences for the confidence level with which we can continue to regard Sutton College as a Box 4 institution. Confidential interviews with the Head of the General Studies Department certainly reveal that at the time the College management was becoming increasingly concerned about the highly public involvement of Drama in community affairs, particularly those dealing with controversial issues.

Once again, the tensions focussed on an event perceived to be inappropriate and embarrassing, a play called Angie[1]. Angie was written by a part-time Drama lecturer, and explored the problems of local drug abuse. Co-directed by the Drama Section Leader and performed by full-time Drama students, Angie became a sort of focus for management unease. This unease escalated under the pressure of circumstances, as Angie was performed in theatres across Birmingham, accompanied by widespread local media coverage. Media reports on the play, which was premiered at Sutton College on March 5th, 1987, followed by performances at the Birmingham Old Rep on March 6th and at Abbey Hall Erdington on March 7th, were extremely favourable and included the following comments:

> The subject of Sutton College Youth Theatre's recent production, Angie, like the Rolling Stones song of the same name, was sad, not because it was depressing to watch, but because it tackled a very 'real' problem and one which has received plenty of attention from the political arena, including some from M.P. Robin Corbett.[2]

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1 Patrick Hayes, Angie, (Privately published) Sutton Coldfield, 1987.
2 Sutton Coldfield Observer, Review, 'The Road to Self Destruction', 7 March, 1987.

> A hard hitting debut is in prospect from Sutton College Youth Theatre, which next month presents an innovative play about drug abuse.[1]

Clues to the growing unease about the position of Drama in the College lie in both the text of Angie and the press reports. It is clear that the play does not merely address the drug problem, but actually attacks the institutions of Further Education which seek to sweep such problems under the carpet:

> When Angie enters the local Technical College, she enjoys the new experience that it has to offer and seems to have a bright future ahead of her... But a College Party, a chance for innocent experimentation and a chance to be different come Angela's way. Experimentation leads to desire and finally to addiction.[2]

If we look in closer detail at the text, it becomes immediately obvious that one scene describing a 'typical' Drama class is hardly likely to inspire confidence in the apparently anonymous 'Local Tech':

> Bernie [student] Hey, Sir, did you ever take drugs when you were our age?
> Paul [student] Leave off, they didn't have drugs during the war.
> (They all laugh)
> Alan [lecturer] I don't know why you make jokes about my age. As you well know, I'm only twenty-one.
> (They all laugh)
> Alan If you must know, when I was at University, quite a few students smoked dope ...
> Bernie Did you wear them big side flares and Indian T-shirts?
> Alan I'm afraid I did.
> Tony [student] You must have looked a right nutter.
> Alan That's what it was like in those days ... Many a night we would stay up till dawn listening to Janis Joplin.
> Eddie Who?
> Alan Janis Joplin. She was an American singer. You know, peace-songs. Demonstrations in Trafalgar Square.
> Tony Didn't get you anywhere, did it?
> Alan It depends on how you look at it.
> Tony Rather be down the boozer. That's the best place to demonstrate.
> Alan Never mind demonstrating down the boozer. I want you to demonstrate how well you can do in this project.
> Paul Don't worry Alan, you can rely on us.
> Alan They say that about British Rail.

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1 Birmingham Evening Mail, Thursday, 20 February, 1987.
2 Sutton Coldfield News, 1 March, 1987.

Vicky [student] Can we go now, Alan? Me and the girls have got a typing exam this afternoon.
Alan Oh, right sorry about that. OK everybody, you know what to do ...
(Alan exits. The kids begin to go)[1]

The 'anonymity' of the College setting for Angie fooled no-one. The first performance saw extreme discomfort among College management and at the first interval the Head of the General Studies Department was heard to mutter:

> The whole bloody thing is getting out of hand.[2]

Let us now see how the College dealt with the 'monster' which appeared to be baring real teeth at the institution which had nurtured it. As can happen when political battles revolve around personalities as well as policies, the managers were not averse to social control by gossip, rumour and snide 'off-the-record' observations of a personal kind. These tactics are in line with expectations generated in the literature on deviance, which suggests that concerted attempts will be made to render transgressors morally isolated and 'put them to shame' in the most literal senses.[3] The Head of General Studies, for example, hinted that one root of the problem lay in the lecturer's personal vanity. He was a 'front-of-house exhibitionist' who habitually neglected his more important responsibilities:

> I know that Gerald likes to see his name in lights, but I'd like to see his name on a few more attendance registers.[4]

Having achieved a new equilibruim between instrumental and expressive educational goals, effectively 'marginalising' Drama by ridding itself of the principal 'deviant' or subversive' elements, the

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1 Angie, Act 1, Sc 1, pp. 10-17.
2 Field Notes, 5 March, 1987.
3 See, for example, Albert Cohen, Deviance and Control, Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs, US, 1967, especially Chapter One.
4 Transcript of Interview with Head of General Studies Department, 28 September 1987.

College hierarchy now sought to re-establish its own dominant position by allowing a three month 'gap' in specialist Drama leadership, a move which brought the Drama Section under the direct control of College Management. The 'critique' had overstepped the mark and brought swift, silent and determined 'retribution'. Continuing their 'clean break with the past' policy, the Principal and Departmental Head declined to short-list the remaining part-time Drama specialist. Although the lecturer was considered 'too irresponsible, too much of an attention-seeker' to be considered even a serious candidate, according to the Departmental Head,[1] he was nevertheless given interim responsibility for running the Drama Section in the absence of a section leader. When the rejection of the part-time lecturer's candidature for the Drama post became public knowledge, it resulted in a powerful student protest, but this proved dysfunctional as the lecturer then found himself reprimanded for encouraging what the Departmental Head described as 'unprofessional provocation of student sympathy'.[2] Even the leaders of the student protest were labelled as subversive and accorded the derogatory title of 'Patrick's Pets'. Even the title seems to have been 'institutionalized' since the new Section Leader, in post from April 1988, was given a list of named 'pets',[3] and promptly fired a warning shot across their bows by placing at least one of them under 'probationary' conditions.[4]

When the new Section Leader was appointed, according to the Departmental Head, it was for qualities which were demonstrably different from those of the previous leader:

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1 Transcript of informal (confidential) meeting with Head of General Studies Department, 11 May, 1988.
2 Transcript of informal (confidential) meeting with Head of General Studies Department, 11 May 1988.
3 Transcript of Interview with Senior Lecturer in Charge of Drama, 16 May 1988.
4 SCCFE., Internal Memorandum, 'Report Procedures on Carla Mann', SCCFE., 25 April, 1988.

> When she said she believed in discipline and essay-writing, the whole interview panel breathed a sigh of relief.[1]

The new leader was apparently firm in her commitment to examination-based Theatre Studies:

> I have always found that it is those students who can write essays who will succeed in Drama. In fact there is always, in my experience a high correlation between students who are good in English and those who are good in Drama.[2]

This stance and its endorsement confirmed the worst fears of some of the more liberal members of staff, that Drama was about to surrender its position as catalyst to expressive change. This successful curbing of expressive goals in Drama was further reinforced in September 1989, when the politically docile post-holder was made a Senior Lecturer responsible for the entire Media and the Performing Arts area, with the brief to hold it on a tight rein. In effect, this move represented a repudiation of all that might be implied in Box 4 conditions, and retrenchment back towards viewing Drama as a subservient subject, albeit in two guises, being both a prestigious area of work with its own academic reputation and rewards, and also a 'servicing subject' for vocationally-orientated Employment Training schemes. But no doubt the pendulum will one day begin to swing again, as today's encroachment is tomorrow's citadel, itself open to infiltration and challenge.

5. Conclusions to the Case

The final section of this chapter attempts a thematic aggregating summary of what has been learned from a detailed study of Sutton Coldfield College of Further Education. The intention is not to anticipate the general conclusions of the thesis, but to offer

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1 Transcript of Meeting with Head of General Studies Department, 11 May, 1988.

2 Transcript of Interview with Senior Lecturer-in-Charge of Drama, 16 May, 1988.

generalizations within the case. Ways in which generalizations from the case support tentative wider conclusions about Drama in Further Education are left to the Conclusion. On the other hand, this account tries to go beyond narrative description and is written against the theoretical background that was put forward in Chapter One. In order to remain crisp, the conclusions to the case are presented as a series of points under six headings, although it will be obvious that in many ways they interrelate.

a) Revisiting the Anomalies

(i) The case study confirmed the initial statement of anomalies in Chapter One concerning the position of Drama in Further Eduction. This is, of course, scarcely surprising since they came out of the writer's reflections on her experience of Sutton College in the first place, but if anything the anomalies appear more persistent, more deeply rooted and more problematic than they did at the beginning of the research.

(ii) The conflict over the value and purpose of Drama at Sutton College, and the emergence of opposed groups, were clearly exhibited. The divisions were to some extent masked behind a confusion of definitions, so that, for example, at one point TVEI-inspired 'active learning' was in effect supported by one group because it was seen as encouraging students to 'internalise' dominant instrumental messages (i.e. as a form of passive learning), and supported by an opposing group because it allowed the subterfuge of expressive and critical exploration. The implicit real value-clashes were never entirely in the open, but it was possible to identify the core members of the group sympathetic to Drama playing a strong expressive role as liberal-minded educators using its migratory

pedagogical opportunities in a non-instrumental way. Conversely, the opposition comprised, in the main, tutors from traditional vocational subjects, backed by senior management at isolated points of outrage.

(iii) There was also abundant evidence at Sutton of shifts in policy towards Drama, often associated with the waxing and waning of interested agencies. Drama also clearly had an unsettled and unsettling disposition and attracted both open debate and a certain amount of underhand manoeuvering on both sides. Its role at the College has not been stable, but has been unusually volatile and susceptible to sudden shifts.

(iv) Although the case indicated less evidence of a general multiplyer effect than had been thought likely, the capacity of Drama to project and clarify discord was apparent through several of the instances cited. With regard to the academic curriculum, Drama performed this role in the debates about active learning and curriculum integration. With regard to pastoral issues, Drama focussed and heightened the anxieties surrounding drugs and the youth sub-culture.

b) Characterising the Milieu

(i) Sutton College exhibited a milieu that in general matched well with the depiction of the Further Education College in King's typology of organizational ideologies, although King's analysis would require some modification, for example to enable it to take account of the effects of Sutton's middle-class locality. It would be wrong to suggest that Sutton College's image is 'diffuse and out-of-date', since the College shares the self-confidence of its locality and has developed considerable panache at 'impression management'. On the other hand, Sutton College dramatically exemplified King's 'Principal as entrepreneur', in

particular in his nudging Sutton away from the narrow mission more typically associated with Further Education, defined earlier in terms of its unique vocational bias.

(ii) Entrepreneurialism at Sutton College tended to take it in the direction of becoming an alternative provider of relatively high status academic courses, although the ideological emphasis remained instrumental rather than expressive. Expressive work, however, proved able to make very considerable headway in various disguises, learning to appeal to values and assumptions not necessarily its own, and evolving various tricks of 'counter incorporation' to further its cause against forces seeking to press instrumental agendas.

(iii) College management at Sutton became increasingly 'bureaucratic' during the period of the study, thus matching King's analysis, although this had ambivalent consequences for Drama. Since bureaucracies are by definition hierarchical, allocating status differientially, one effect at Sutton was for the weaker subjects to become marginalised, a tendency reinforced by the creation of a senior management team whose responsibilities were defined across the curriculum. Yet Drama proved able to make surprising headway in this new environment, 'tacking against the wind' and turning even some problematical features to its own advantage.

c) Mapping the Contribution of Drama

(i) The historical analysis of Drama at Sutton College indicated that alone among the Birmingham Colleges its manifestation in the College was across the full range of its multi-faceted nature, although various aspects were interpreted and deployed selectively by those pressing

contradictory agendas. Drama proved politically unreliable, able to serve instrumental as well as expressive agendas, yet its expressive subversive potential was a source of change agency in the College. Several of the shifts in the role of Drama across time were associated with re-ordering the priorities given to its various facets, and derived from perceptions of their suitability in the prevailing climate of curriculum innovation. Those facets of Drama that proved themselves to be most generative of political change were those associated with the use of dramatic pedagogies infiltrating widely across the curriculum.

(ii) The case confirmed overall that the role of Drama at Sutton College has frequently been, in the main, expressive, or at least that it has been able to flourish as such for considerable periods. There was also evidence of some waxing and waning of its influence, and some renegotiation or reimposition of the implicit contract between Drama and the College. In particular, there have been periods in which Drama tutors have allowed themselves to become coopted into non-expressive purposes, either academic or vocational. Indeed, this seems to be the most recent trend. A strong sub-theme in the College has been various attempts to press the individual expressive element towards a more concerted social critique, a tendency which brought about periodic conflict.

d) Latent and Manifest Pathologies

(i) Although the ability of Drama to establish a secure foothold elsewhere in Further Education has been patchy and uncertain, at Sutton College, for a variety of reasons, Drama has been able to establish an ecological niche, although a problematic one, subject to striking vicissitudes.

(ii) The case also indicated clearly that there was persistent conflict at Sutton College between alternative ways of looking at the relationship between curriculum and culture, each way espoused by an identifiable group of tutors. Instrumental messages sit most comfortably with a culture conservation/preservation model, but the skills-based vocational courses at Sutton College were increasingly paralleled by courses springing directly from the College's view of itself as an alternative provider of the academic curriculum. If we take Bourdieu's view that the 'cultural capital' generated is unevenly distributed in our society[1], this could be expected to have the effect of undermining Sutton College as a purveyor of 'proletarian' education, and this proved to be the case. We indicated earlier that exploratory, expressive Drama matches most comfortably with a 'cultural reconstructionist' curriculum perspective, particularly in its endorsement of learner-centred pedagogies and its commitment to questioning and testing social assumptions against the authenticity of feelings.

(iii) The sharpest problems associated with Drama occured when its practitioners abandoned a reconstructionist curriculum orientation for out-and-out social critique, exemplified most sharply in the furore surrounding the performances of The Trial of Goldilocks and Angie.

e) Sutton College as a Box 4 Paradigm Case?

(i) The provisional placing of Sutton College as a Box 4 institution in the two-by-two dichotomy analysed in Chapter One in part depends as designating its milieu as opaque. As indicated above, an opaque milieu is contrasted with the clear top-down instrumental and vocational provision that led us to characterise other milieux in Further Education

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[1] Pierre Bourdieu, 'The School as a Conservative Force: Scholastic and Cultural Inequalities', in Roger Dale et al., Schooling and Capitalism, pp. 110-117, p. 110.

as transparent. An opaque milieu can be opaque at two levels. It will certainly evidence internal diversity and an apparent pluralism of values, as well as flexibility of provision and responsiveness to local needs; but it will also be theoretically opaque, in that there will be no easy determination of whether it is genuinely pluralistic in the sense of having abandoned its defence of the root instrumentalism at the heart of Further Education provision.

The Box 4 placing equally depends on sustaining the proposition that Drama performed an expressive role in the opaque milieu, and it is reasonable to ask whether the original categorisation remains secure at the end of the case. Many of the issues are complex and subtle; but we certainly feel that the generalisation stands crudely, although important qualifications are required. For example, although it might appear at present that the Le ader of the Drama Section has deserted its expressive cause in order to gain promotion in what she perceives as an instrumental order, there is no firm indication of how this fits into her real 'game plan' or whether we are observing the behaviour of the 'beguiled oppressed' under conditions of hegemonic consent. Yet a strong latent expressive tradition continues, although more cautiously, perceiving itself under threat.

(ii) The factors most cogent in modifying the account arise from the fact that neither the milieu nor the role could be characterized as completely stable with respect to the dichotomies. Although Drama was overwhelmingly committed to, and able to deliver on, an expressive role, there were occasions when it was co-opted into an instrumental ideology or found itself limited, constrained, subject to sudden redefinition, marginalised or misappropriated to instrumental ends. More problematically, the milieu proved something of an optical illusion.

Although retaining the surface characteristics of an opaque institution, Sutton exhibited a sufficient degree of symbolic violence towards Drama to question its attribution, with the latent hostility flaring into open conflict around several catylist events. One interpretation is that social control in opaque institutions is paradoxically more likely to be consensual (and thus hegemonic) than in transparent institutions, since a 'hard' line needs to be defended nearer to the borders of coercion than a 'soft' line. If so, abrupt shifts from consent to coercion in opaque institutions, as happened over both Angie and The Trial of Goldilocks, might reflect a kind of catastrophe theory as the benign institution goes 'over the cusp' and bares its teeth. On the other hand, since opaque institutions are also hard to read, there is also some evidence for invoking a theory based on mutual deception, and suggesting that an underlying instrumental ideology is present at all times, although masked and compromised in the pragmatics of particular situations. When expressive Drama gets out of hand, as it can and does from time to time, the underlying antagonisms reassert themselves.

iii) If so, the case tends to reassert the initial intuitive feeling that Further Education would prove, in a strong and analytically justified sense, a hostile environment for Drama. Nevertheless, Box 4 retained a complex and fascinating distinctiveness, and not just analytically. Its problems and possibilities remain the most distinctive and interesting of all the conditions envisaged in the two-by-two dichotomy.

Finally, it may be interesting, in a thesis with slippery interpretive notions, and having an Arts bias through its very subject-matter, to offer a few points in an unashamedly metaphorical format.[1]

Drama and the Shore-Line

We might think of Drama in Further Education as marine life between high and low tide on a coastline. When the tide is out, life survives precariously in little rock-pools, but eventually the sea comes flooding back in again. Although the pulls and cross-currents of the full tide present new dangers compared with the relative peace of the rock-pool, marine life could not survive without periodic sustenance in circumstances that nourish it. Indeed Drama could lack necessary nourishment.

Drama as an Amoeba

Perhaps Drama in Further Education is not developing according to the single-direction model career proposed by those studying the history of the notion of 'subjects'.[2] In adverse territory it at times seems more amoeba-like, changing shape and assimilating tasty bits of its environment as it slowly manoeuvres in a survival game. Drama, like the amoeba, is an elemental life-form. It is usefully slippery, but has an organizing nucleus. It is seen by others as a low, even despicable, form of life but it is self-reproductive. Drama will seek to secure its own survival, even when the short-term ecological niche appears to be extremely hazardous.

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1 This approach was used with some success by David Jenkins in 'Curriculum Development and Reference Group Theory: Notes Towards Understanding The Plight of the Curriculum Developer as Marginal Man' in Eric Hoyle and Robert Bell (eds), Problems of Curriculum Innovation, Bucks, Open University, 1972, pp. 73-77.

2 For example, Ivor F. Goodson and Stephen J. Ball (eds), Defining the Curriculum: Histories and Ethnographies, Lewes, Falmer Press, 1984.

Drama as a Stranger[1]

Drama in Further Education is like a visitor from distant parts moving in a strange culture, and needing to acquire ways of settling into ordinary life. The stranger will first seek to acquire some cues that may help to encode and decode how the host society work; for example what are its methods and means of communications, its values, or its social conventions? He might seek, like the social anthropologist, to 'go native' and to imitate the surface behaviour of the hosts. Alternatively he may seek like-minded strangers, perhaps from his own country, and settle into life in the ghetto, or even aspire to a missionary role. Some strangers come bearing gifts or with tracts summarizing a faith. In many cases, they will be willing to accept temporary servitude, hoping eventually to progress through the system and acquire recognition and autonomy.

Drama as the Wooden Horse of Troy

The citadel of Further Education will not readily open its gates to the invading hordes, however 'cultivated' they stand in their view of themselves. Being schooled in deception (their very stock-in-trade) Drama's soldiers seek temporary refuge inside a wooden horse of instruction. This fabricated animal is attractive to the princes running Troy for its combination of spurious energy and inert wood, a suitably low-tech material suggesting unimaginativeness. At first the soldiers remain inside the horse, but one day, after dark, they climb out and open the gates of the city. The horse is only an inert container, so it is not able to object to being treated as a box in a two-by-two dichotomy.

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[1] This narrative vignette was suggested by a reading of A. Schutz, 'The Stranger' in B.R. Cosin, I.R. Dale, G.M. Esland, D.M. Swift, (eds) School and Society: A Sociological Reader, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, Open University, 1971, pp. 32-38.

Drama as an Unruly Guest

Drama in Further Education is like a man who was invited to a banquet. Although at first apparently accepting the obligations placed upon the guest to behave circumspectly, he interrupts supper with unseemly mirth and rude over-pointed conversation. He leaves his official mask in the cloakroom and attracts attention to himself by wearing a selection he brought with him.

CHAPTER SIX:

CONCLUSION

The structure of enquiry undertaken in this thesis has been a consecutive one. The enquiry, which began with the need to bring order and explanation to the anomalies and ambiguities appearing to surround the role of Drama in contemporary Further Education, was refocussed successively around a number of concerns. Each turn in the investigation gave rise to a chapter from which interim concluding observations were then taken forward into the next stage of the research. The purpose of this general conclusion is not to re-state the particular conclusions canvassed at successive stages of the enquiry, but to attempt an aggregation towards some of the underlying regularities that appear to govern the events under review. We confine ourselves to conclusions that can be asserted with some confidence, and legitimate speculations arising out of them, although it is fair to anticipate here a point to be made in the Methodological Appendix, that generalizations accumulating from a series of cases can never be stated as 'laws'. The study of institutions undertaken in this thesis has been broadly interpretive, and thus idiographic rather than nomothetic.[1] Nevertheless, a more refined 'model' of the processes has emerged, capable of explaining the data collected in an intellectually satisfying way.

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[1] Stephen Kemmis, 'Nomothetic and Idiographic Approaches to the Evaluation of Learning', Curriculum Studies, Vol. 10, No. 1, pp. 45-59, 1978. See also Stephen Kemmis, 'The Imagination of the Case and the Invention of the Study', in Helen Simons (ed.), Towards a Science of the Singular, Norwich, University of East Anglia, 1980, pp. 93-142.

The thesis began by making problematical a number of anomalies that appear to characterize the position of Drama in Further Education provision, and which seemed to require reasoned explanation. It is a matter of common consent that Drama in Further Education is something of a ragbag of disparate activity, with a multitude of facets, many of which can be traced back to ways in which Drama responds to pressures placed on it under different ideological conditions. As its sharpest, there was room for the initial suspicion that Drama was in some kind of natural antithesis with Further Education, in spite of the fact that much Drama and quasi-dramatic pedagogy clearly performed an instrumental rather than an expressive role, and in spite of the similarly 'awkward' realization that Colleges of Further Education in particular circumstances exhibited seeming liberal pluralistic or 'opaque' tendencies 'sympathetic' to Drama, at least at the level of institutional rhetoric. It was felt that it would not be possible, without further analysis and argument, simply to subsume these differences under the view that Further Education is necessarily and residually ideologically compliant because of its vocational bias and consequent direct link to the economic structure of society. On the other hand Further Education, and the awkwardness of Drama within it, was clearly susceptible to analysis using neo-Marxist cultural reproduction and hegemony theory, and this framework was advanced provisionally alongside a phenomenological approach which sought to collect the social interpretations which had gathered around particular vantage points in the colleges. Whether reproduction theory or an analysis of sub-cultural pluralism best 'explained' the data was left to a series of cases, as was the related question of whether the forces of social control monitoring and containing Drama did so by

hegemonic consent (an infiltration of the common sense understandings of the oppressed) or by coercion.

But first an attempt was made to construct an analytical framework that would help unravel the complexities. The roles of Drama were attributed as likely to be, relatively, 'instrumental' or 'expressive', in a milieu of the Further Education college treated, again relatively, as either 'transparent' or 'opaque'. The dichotomies combined in a remarkable way, offering a logical map of the possibilities in a four-box analysis. It seemed clear, also, that the tensions and ambiguities associated with the role of Drama appeared in subtle and far-reaching ways different in each of the boxes. It was Box 4, ostensibly combining an opaque and relatively pluralistic milieu with an acknowledged expressive role for Drama, that appeared most to threaten an explanation derived from hegemony theory, since Box 4 represented the 'worst case' that the theory faced, although it could be reasserted at a more subtle and deep level, perhaps by explanations grounded in the mutual ploys and deceptions of games theory, in which both Drama tutors and Further Education managers may in some circumstances mask their 'true' position or intentions. This issue was set aside to await the detailed case study of Sutton Coldfield College of Further Education, seemingly a clear Box 4 case.

The attempt to marshall systematic evidence around the propositions advanced in this thesis may appear something of a detour, although properly understood the question it addresses is an important preliminary investigation. The problem it tackled was whether the tensions and ambiguities exhibited by Drama in the Further Education College should be seen as an explicit product of the setting, or as part of a more general problem arising from awkwardness in the role of Drama

historically, in relation to culture in general. There has, however, been insufficient analysis in the sociology of literature of the role played by Drama under various historical conditions. The investigation, through two historical case studies, should be considered as suggestive rather than final, but it certainly tended to indicate that, in spite of the widely contrasting circumstances pertaining, the role of Drama was one of deep political moral and social ambiguity. Its political unreliability related directly to its capacity for expressive critique, at times used benignly to recycle social energy[1] through probing and questioning, at times allowing itself to be openly co-opted into antithetical causes, or even offer direct subversive challenge to the prevailing orthodoxies. Although the role of Drama depended in part on the prevailing circumstances in each of the contrasting cases, the underlying capacity for volatile counter-hegemonic distillations ran through, and was a strong theme, perhaps surprisingly, even in the Medieval Drama. Another conclusion emerging out of the historical case studies was that Drama exhibited a particular capacity to be a vehicle through which the emerging urban proletariat was able to achieve expressive self-actualization, and thereby political strength.

Having established that Drama in Further Education has inherited a background instability from its wider uncertain, volatile and politically ambitious role in culture at large, it seemed necessary to conduct a further investigation into whether the milieu of Further Education was itself problematic in a way that heightened the conflict. This question was pursued through a longitudinal case study of the emergence

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[1] A recent subtle and sophisticated study took this perspective to Renaissance Drama; see Stephen Greenblatt, Shakespearean Negotiations: The Circulation of Social Energy in Renaissance England, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1988.

historically of contemporary Further Education provision, an analysis that demonstrated beyond doubt that Further Education's patchy and chequered history arose in part from the waves of conflicting assumptions, arguments, bases of provision and rhetorics of justification (religious, moral, social and political) that have passed through, of which the bifurcation into the opposed claims of 'general' and 'vocational' education is but a recent version of a whole series of confusions and dichotomies. This analysis is important for contemporary Further Education, not least because the legacy is one of a policy that has been argued out against several antithetical but available rhetorics of justification. The legacy ensures that the games players in the setting of contemporary Further Education have powerful resources of argument and precedent that may be canvassed in defence of virtually any position currently being advanced. The waves have gone through like armies; the only question is whether the latest conquerers, say the MSC or revised Government policy on educational funding, are a cultured army of liberation or simply vandals. These aspects reverberate rather obviously with the question of cultural reproduction theory. If Further Education is indeed in contemporary circumstances the imposition of an ideology seeking to control and marginalise Drama, then at least it can be said that there are opportunities to construct defensive ploys and counter-thrusts. There is no problem in seeing Drama wriggling to secure its own survival in the most favourable possible shape, since the view of the 'academic subject' taken in this thesis, recently advanced by Goodson[1], treats such advances as normal.

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[1] Ivor F. Goodson and Stephen J. Ball, (eds) Defining the Curriculum: Histories and Ethnographies Lewes: Falmer Press, 1984

The final case study took these arguments to an in-depth study of the role of Drama in a single institution, Sutton Coldfield College of Further Education. The concluding section of that chapter offered a number of generalizations within the case, and one task of this general conclusion is to extend that analysis to a higher level of generality by offering a model of what we now hold the underlying logic of the problem - the awkwardness of Drama in Further Education - to be.

Our model rests in part on the proposition, which can be reasserted at the conclusion of the cases, that Further Education is in some real sense an alien and hostile environment for Drama. The tensions and ambiguities held to characterize the relationship were constantly encountered throughout the study in a variety of circumstances. But the proposition cannot be asserted naively, and several subtleties emerged, not least because in ostensibly pluralistic environments the conflict was to some extent masked, and not acknowledged (in the terms posed) by the conflicting parties. At its sharpest, the antagonism is between Drama as rooted in individual expression and potential political subversiveness, and Further Education as representing the heartland of society's provision of instrumental and vocational education. In short, Further Education is irredeemably committed to cultural reproduction, whilst Drama is potentially transformative.

Yet, through a complication that underpins the two-by-two dichotomy, neither Drama nor Further Education appear consistently in a uniform guise. Drama has 'facets', which variously match a range of cultural assumptions about education and has become deft at putting its 'best-face forward' for particular circumstances and settings. Further Education has settings that manage to be opaque, even seemingly pluralistic; it is not entirely a question of evident top-down instrumentalism. Also

Drama's patchy physical presence in Further Education can only be understood by reference to historical antecedents and (often hazy) implicit 'entry conditions'. Sponsored Drama has not infrequently been given a limited subservient role, or else entertained riskily because it suits other agendas being pursued by the colleges, such as local impression management, or simple institutional entrepreneurialism, chasing new markets in hard times. 'Invitations' to Drama also relate to its convenient potential for performing a generalized pedagogical role in the service of other subjects, even those having a clear instrumental bias, and also to its perceived value as a motivational device.

In spite of our placement of underlying conflict at the heart of the model of the processes giving rise to tensions and ambiguities surrounding Drama in Further Education, the conflict appears overall more muted and constrained than one might have supposed. Although deep-running, the problems are in the main contained relatively easily by mechanisms of social control available to the colleges; they appear as skirmishes rather than as sustained opposition, and when proponents of Drama have managed on occasion unequivocally to challenge the establishment, they have been put down rather readily. Any adequate theoretical account needs to address itself to this issue. One thought behind the setting up of a two-by-two dichotomy was that Box 4 represented 'best case' circumstances for Drama, particularly if an opaque milieu could be treated as genuinely pluralistic, and 'worst case' circumstances for theories treating Further Education as ideologically oppressive. The evident continuation of the ambiguities and tensions under Box 4 conditions leads us to reject the notion that apparently-benign opaque milieux are as pluralistic as they seem,

although exact designations need to be made cautiously. But what processes of social control are involved, and how are they working?

Paradoxically, there is much evidence for the proposition that social control in top-down transparent milieux, which are openly instrumental, is more likely to include elements of constraint, than in bottom-up opaque milieux, where hegemonic saturation of commonsense leads many to suppose that the college is 'entitled' to defend its 'more liberal' boundaries. The case study of Sutton Coldfield College of Further Education revealed a large element of consent, in the process of social control, particularly recently, although Drama was curbed forcibly at several points of outrage. There is, as we indicated earlier, a point in determined opposition beyond which we are dealing with struggle, not compliance.

In theoretical terms, this study is exploring a problem on the edge of hegemony theory. As Femia observes, the distinction between different modes of conformity, easy to draw analytically, based respectively on compliance arising from voluntary agreement and compliance relying on constraint, is more difficult to determine in actual circumstances.[1] The case of Drama in Further Education evidences an extent of hegemonic compliance, although with much unease, but also the forces of curbing and constraint with the iron fist not always gloved in velvet. The boundary between the two appears to relate to circumstances in which Drama abandons its equivocal rhetoric of justification in <u>individualistic</u> pedagogy (equivocal because of uncertainty concerning the interest served, with 'active learning' standing as representative of a number of

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[1] Joseph Femia, <u>Gramsci's Political Thought</u>, Clarendon, Oxford, 1981, p. 28.

icons of counter incorporation), and circumstances in which it aspires unequivocally to a role of social and cultural critique.

Another strong conclusion is that Drama in Further Education offers a complex and potentially confused arena in which various ploys, deceptions, misrepresentations and sham bargains are normal and unremarkable, routinely indulged in by both sets of players. In one sense this is quite convenient theoretically, as it reverberates with the idea of the theatre as 'deception' as well as with the neo-Marxist notion of the 'hidden' curriculum of Further Education. Drama tutors and Further Education managers have a whole array of internal and external reference groups, and will develop selective affinities that root them in a variety of 'off the shelf' arguments. In this sense, Further Education's historical legacy is critically important. Both sides manipulate, distort and engage in practical gambles designed to push and modify others. Involved in this process will be various attempts to manipulate 'identity tags' in order to render the authentic identity of a subject suspect.[1] Such machinations only fit into hegemony theory awkwardly and only if one accepts that the beguiled oppressed take part in these low-level games in a way that Femia describes as when illusory conflict becomes a disguised form of consensus.[2]

When tougher circumstances prevail, these constant manoevreing games give way to social control by illicit pressure, occupational gossip and actual denunciation, as occurred at Sutton College both over Angie and over The Trial of Goldilocks. We are then at that place in the sociology of moral indignation where attempts are made to define the

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1 See Goffman, Strategic Interaction, Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1970, pp. 22-31.

2 Joseph Femia, Gramsci's Political Thought, see especially Chapters I and II.

transgressors as deviant. It will not escape notice that a 'successful degradation ceremony'[1] calls upon assumed shared understandings, and is as dependent upon saturated commonsense as hegemony theory. Indignation is a normative feeling that depends on being shared; the pain of shame is in its isolation.

Finally, in theoretical terms, this study lends support to the view put forward by Arnot and Whitty[2], and Anyon[3], that when social and cultural reproduction theory is linked to primary data, whether quantative or qualitive, various qualifications, tending to modify our understandings, have emerged. These do not supplant the theory so much as require it to develop more subtle and interactive models of its own processes. In particular a 'correspondence' version of hegemony and cultural reproduction theory now needs to be abandoned:

> As a theoretical measure of the complex and contradictory role that schools play in mediating and reproducing the existing social order, the correspondence theory ... has become a historical relic.[4]

There is a greater awareness of the possibility of non-reproductive pedagogies that are potentially transformative, but with various macro problems, for instance that 'the emphasis on creativity and meaning-making in the affluent school is seen as coming into potential conflict with demands increasingly being made on the newer professional classes by the bureaucratic rationality of the corporate state. '[5] Drama

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1 Harold Garfinkel, 'Conditions of Successful Degradation Ceremonies', American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 61, March 1956, pp. 420-424.

2 See Madeleine Arnot and Geoff Whitty, 'From Reproduction to Transformation: A British View of Recent American Work on the Sociology of the Curriculum', SSRC Curriculum Studies Seminar, University of Birmingham, 1981, Mimeo Revised.

3 J. Anyon, 'Social Class and the Hidden Curriculum of Work', Journal of Education, 162, 1980.

4 H. Giroux 'Beyond the Correspondence Theory: Notes on the Dynamics of Educational Reproduction and Transformation', cited in Arnot and Whitty, p. 21.

5 Giroux in Arnot and Whitty, p.21.

is perhaps one of the 'vulnerabilities' in the process of reproduction that is open to liberal exploitation, and able to evolve and sustain a genuinely supportive alternative sub-culture. This account of Drama in Further Education offers further support to that analysis.

METHODOLOGICAL APPENDIX

1. Introduction

It is the purpose of this Methodological Appendix both to summarize and to justify the methodological processes employed in the study. These are complex and multiple in a manner described by Gleeson and Mardle as 'methodological pluralism'[1] . A range of issues influenced the procedures of the research and the collection of its data, and we now address ourselves to the most important of them.

The account begins with a discussion of the role of the writer as participant and non-participant observer [2] across the time-scale governing the field work. The subsequent section offers a broad justification for the utilization in this study of case study methodology, followed by a detailed consideration of problems and issues relating to each of the three particular cases which form the basis of this thesis. These are not only distinctive in terms of the substantive areas they cover, but also represent to some extent distinctive kinds of case study. Four principal issues are addressed: instance/class relationships, the role of theory, the possibility of generalizations, and what is eligible for data collection. As will be seen, each case study employed breaks slightly differently on these issues. The Methodological Appendix concludes with information relating to the historical and ethnographic data collected during the study.

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[1] Denis Gleeson and George Mardle, Further Education or Training? Case Study in the Theory and Practice of Day-Release Education, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1980, p127.

[2] For a further discussion of the advantages and disadvantages of participant and non-participant observation, see Louis Cohen and Lawrence Manion, Research Methods in Education, London, Croom Helm, 1980, Chapter 5

The balance of advantage in selecting and combining research methods and techniques for this thesis proved to be a matter requiring fine judgement, and the methodological issues addressed are somewhat complex. The research did not seek to establish pre-ordinate hypotheses to govern and limit the collection of data and which ultimately were to seek 'verification' through the enquiry.[1] But neither did the study opt for an approach limited to 'grounded theory' in the classic Glaser and Strauss sense that relies on progressive focussing, with the research hoping to exhume potentially unpredictable truths by paying attention to the situation itself, shorn of an initial formal theory.[2]

The thesis occupies a kind of mid position between the dichotomised approaches of hypothesis-testing and grounded theory, and sought an intellectual style in which theory and data could be treated as mutually complementary, with a number of initial intuitive explanatory models being chastened or elaborated and refined during the course of the investigation. In short, the thesis defined its initial problem as provisionally susceptible to certain kinds of theoretical analysis, in particular broad analytical frameworks derived from cultural reproduction theory[3] and hegemony theory,[4] in order to generate further refined

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1 See for example, F.N. Kerlinger, Foundations of Behavioural Research, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1970.

2 Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss, The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies of Qualitative Research, Chicago, Aldine, 1967, pp. 1-35.

3 (see for example) Michael Apple, Ideology and Curriculum, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1979, and Pierre Bourdieu, 'The School as a Conservative Force: Scholastic and Cultural Inequalities' in Roger Dale, Geoff Esland and Madeleine MacDonald (eds), Schooling and Capitalism: A Sociological Reader, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1976, pp 110-117.

4 See for example, Joseph Femia, Gramsci's Political Thought, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1981. Robert Bocock, Hegemony, Ellis Horwood/ Tavistock Publications, London, 1986. Perry Anderson, 'The Antinomies of Antonio Gramsci' New Left Review, No. 100, London, 1976-77, pp. 5-78.

explanations in a manner having elements not unakin to grounded theory.

The two-by-two dichotomy[1] operated in practice as a kind of provisional quasi-hypothetical set of preferred explanations, itself premissed on a bifurcation in the milieu and settings of Further Education, which were held to be either transparent or opaque, and a distinction in the role played by Drama as likely to be either instrumental or expressive. But there was also a willingness to chasten the provisional framework as appropriate, and the enquiry suspended final judgment on the usefulness of the distinctions employed, with every attempt made to make the ethnographic data sufficiently rich to be capable of challenging the analysis.

The intellectual stance of adopting and juxtaposing semi-oppositive methodologies and systems of classification implicit in neo-Marxist and phenomenological perspectives[2] was echoed in the framework of the two-by-two dichotomy. Just as the thesis sought to steer a middle course between attempting to establish preordinate hypotheses to be tested and the progressive focussing of grounded theory, so also it sought to combine and reconcile as far as possible the insights of phenomenology

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1 For a similar use of a two-by-two dichotomy see Colin Bell, 'A Note on Participant Observation', Sociology, Vol.3, No.3, September 1969, pp. 417-418.

2 See, for example, P.L. Berger and T. Luckmann, The Social Construction of Reality, Allen Lane, London: Penguin Books, 1967. This general approach informs many of the papers in B.R. Cosin, I.R. Dale, G.M. Esland and D.M. Swift, (eds), School and Society: A Sociological Reader, Open University, 1971, particularly A. Schutz 'The Stranger', pp 32-38. For the application of phenomenological perspectives to case study, see R. North, 'Curricular, Administrative and Management Adaptations within Secondary Schools following Reorganisation along Comprehensive Lines', unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Ulster, 1986. One relevant area in which shifts in perceptions might be aggregated into a sociological/historical account is the 'moral history' of curriculum subjects. See for example, Ivor Goodson 'Defining and Defending the subject: Geography versus environmental studies', in Martyn Hammersley and Andy Hargreaves, (eds), Curriculum Practice: Some Sociological Case Studies, New York, The Falmer Press, 1988, pp. 89-106.

and neo-Marxist critique. There was more at stake here than perhaps meets the eye because of the suggestive association that links the classificatory schema of the two-by-two dichotomy to questions of methodological appropriateness. Neo-Marxist critical approaches self-confidently match more comfortably with an analysis of Further Education in terms of prevailing culturally dominant conditions,[1] while phenomenological approaches tend better to 'fit' the dispersed situational vantage points found in pluralistic conditions. Thus, the theoretical and methodological issues can be seen in one sense to interpenetrate.

The three 'cases' of Drama in Further Education are intended to be read cumulatively, with logically prior questions answered first. The study culminates in a case study of the vicissitudes experienced by Drama in a single college, Sutton Coldfield College of Further Education. The writer is a lecturer in the College, having a genuine participant role, although not of recent years in the Drama section. These circumstances lent themselves to extensive fieldwork based on participant and non-participant observation,[2] semi-structured interviews[3], document

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1 A number of writers take a very subtle view of social control at the boundaries of hegemonic consent, recognizing the possibility of a culture of resistance. See for example M. Arnot and G. Whitty 'From Reproduction to transformation', Paper for SSRC. Curriculum Studies Seminar, Birmingham 1981, revised mimeo, and J. Anyon, 'Social Class and the Hidden Curriculum of Work', The Journal of Education, 162, 1.1980.

2 One source of inspiration was N. Denzin 'The Logic of Naturalistic Enquiry', Social Forces, 50, 1971, 166-182. See also H. Becker and B. Geer, 'Participant Observation and Interview: A comparison', in G.J. McCall and J. Simons, (eds), Issues in Participant Observation, London, Addison, Crestley, 1969, pp. 322-341.

3 See for example, B. Macdonald and J. Sangar, 'Just for the Record? Note Towards a Theory of Interviewing and Evaluation', in House, E.R. (ed), Evaluation Studies: Review Annual, Vol 7, Beverley Hills, California, Sage Publications, 1982.

analysis[1] and product appraisal.[2] The general approach taken was close to what Robert Stake, writing in the context of evaluation rather than research, called 'portrayal', although compared to Stake's work this study perhaps emphasizes narrative over the collection of testimony.[3] The writer would defend the use of narrative vignettes in case study: narratives constructed by participants are primary ways of bringing order to complex situations.[4] One general trend that distinguishes evaluation from research is that the latter is more concerned with theory, and more inclined to see the 'bounded system'[5] of the case as studied less for its own sake than for the possibility it offers towards making generalizations, however tentative, about some class of 'instances' concerning which the case is held to be in some sense representative. These issues are taken up below. The general stance towards fieldwork employed in this thesis is one which pays heed to the need for careful extensive documentation and the need for triangulation from a number of sources. The writer also followed Lawrence Stenhouse[6] in seeking to

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1 E. Guba and Y.S. Lincoln, Effective Evaluation: Improving the Usefulness of Evaluation Reports Through Responsive and Naturalistic Approaches, 1981.

2 See excerpts from several articles by R. Stake in D. Hamilton et al., Beyond the Numbers Game: a Reader in Educational Evaluation, London: Macmillan 1978, particularly 'portrayal evaluation'. Also R. Stake, (ed) Evaluating the Arts in Education: A Responsive Approach, Columbus, Ohio, Charles E Merrill, 1975; and R. Stake, ' The Case Study Method in Social Enquiry', in H. Simons, (ed), The Science of the Singular, Norwich, UEA, 1980, pp. 62-75

3 ibid.

4 See D. Sjogren, (ed), AERA monograph series on Curriculum Evaluation, Volume 7: Four Evaluation Examples: Anthropological Economic, Narrative and Portrayal, Chicago, Rand, McNally 1974. Although the analytical clarity is useful, eclectic research more frequently employs mixed models.

5 See Clem Adelman, David Jenkins and Stephen Kemmis, 'Re-thinking Case Study' in Simons, (ed), Towards a Science of the Singular' pp. 45-61

6 Lawrence Stenhouse, 'Case Study in Educational Research and Evaluation', Centre for Applied Research in Education, University of East Anglia, mimeograph, 1981, p. 4.

distinguish between the case study itself and the 'case record', a body of data open in principle to other interpretations than those canvassed by the writer.

2. The Participant as Observer

The writer was appointed as a Lecturer in English and Drama at Sutton Coldfield College of Further Education in 1976, and thus had a share of responsibility for teaching Drama during the period when the original anomalies defined as problematic were first perceived. When she registered for a Higher Degree of the University of Warwick in 1982, early clarifications of the problem area assumed a broadly based historical study, and there was no thought of attempting a case study of the home institution. But following a change of supervisor and promotion outside of Drama to subject leadership in Communication and Media Studies in January 1985, it was decided to reconfigure the structure, and to some extent the methodology, around the possibility of a major case study. The intensive period of field work for the Sutton case study was from January 1985 to June 1987, although the collection of data was not confined to that period and particular enquiries have been followed up as late as 1990. This shift was associated with a shift in registration, routine at Warwick, from M.Phil.to Ph.D. By the time she undertook the fieldwork in the College, the writer no longer had any formal affiliations with Drama, nor direct contact with Drama and Theatre Arts Teaching. Nonetheless, historical legacies are not disposed of that easily, and the writer feels under some obligation to relate these

circumstances to a methodological account.[1] It is tempting to argue that while the advantages remained of access, a 'real' institutional role, the availability of people, settings (teaching and administration) and data (including confidential files), the new circumstances had substantially ameliorated the problems of historical partiality. It is perhaps difficult for the researcher to adjudicate these issues on her own behalf with complete credibility , but nevertheless a few observations seem in order. The most obvious 'technical' difference was that observation of Drama teaching was non-participant and that whereas it was possible to be naturally present at meetings in which Drama was 'fighting its corner', the fighting was now being done by others. It became possible to be distanced from the action, and relate it to theoretical rather than tactical considerations. In so far as a residual problem remained, the writer felt, perhaps uncritically, that she could take a genuinely curious view even of matters in which she had some 'interest'.[2] There is no absolute methodological defence against bias except that products penetrated by it are detectable in oneself as well as in others. As D.H. Lawrence described the problem: 'Don't trust the teller, trust the tale'. There were, however, subtle problems in one area; although the semi-structured interviews attracted replies that were not obviously ad hominem, access to institutional gossip depends on one's exact placing in a psycho-sociological milieu, and no doubt only a selection of

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1 A number of studies usefully discuss problems of the independence or objectivity of participant observation research in home institutions, particularly ones characterized by policy tensions in relation to which the researcher can be construed as holding a situational perspective. See, for example, L. Cohen and L. Manion, Research Methods in Education, London: Croom Helm, 1975.

2 The sharpest dilemma is found in 'action research'. Lawrence Stenhouse is among several writers who have argued for more acknowledgement that professionals can be intellectually curious about their own performance. See L. Stenhouse, An Introduction to Curriculum Research and Development, London:Heinemann, 1975

information was on offer. Other safeguards related to the way the research was presented to informants, always stressing the University connection and the relationship, especially of more sensitive or personal information, to more general explanatory frameworks. All interviews were tape-recorded, transcribed and subject to content analysis in order to avoid note-taking based on selective recollection.[1]

3. Case Study: Tradition and Methods

This section offers a general defence of case study methodology and seeks, in a way grounded to some extent in the available literature, to indicate what methodological decisions were taken with respect to the three cases offered. As indicated earlier, these locate at slightly different places on the methodological map.

A useful starting point is to recognize the imprecision of reference in 'case study research' acknowledged by Adelman et al;

> Case study is an umbrella term for a family of methods in research and evaluation having in common the decision to focus an enquiry around an instance.[2]

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1 See B. MacDonald and J. Sangar, 'Just for the Record? Note Towards a Theory of Interviewing and Evaluation', in E.R. House (ed), Evaluation Studies, Review Annual, Vol.7, Beverley Hill, California, SAGE Publications, 1982.

2 Adelman, Jenkins, Kemmis 'Re-thinking Case Study' in Simons p. 48. The present writer shares the optimistic view of the value of case study in educational research, which is by now well understood and exemplified through a number of studies. See for examples, David Hargreaves, Social Relations in a Secondary School' London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1965; Colin Lacey, Highton Grammar: The School as a Social System, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1970.

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Echoing a point made elsewhere by Stenhouse,[1] the authors depict case study data as 'strong in reality, although difficult to organize',[2] seeing the strength of case study as emanating from the down-to-earth and attention-seeking qualities that characterise case studies which:

> harmonise with the reader's own experience and thus provide a 'natural' basis for generalisations[3]

In each of the cases offered in this thesis there is a flirtation with the notion of 'naturalistic generalisation', but some reserves and caveats need to be noted. In its most strongly asserted form, naturalistic enquiry may well offer a natural and accurate account, but in its weakest version, again noted by Aldeman, Jenkins and Kemmis[4], the naturalistic generalisation is little more than the view that case study data reverberates with the tacit knowledge of readers who will use it as accumulating data towards locally-relevant generalisations. This orientation matches the circumstances in which qualitative case study evaluation reports are likely to be 'put to use', but only holds weak expectations of 'formal' generalisations.[5] By contrast, this thesis hopes to make a contribution to theory, although at the same time is concerned with an accumulation from several settings.[6] Perhaps the more apt comparisons are with studies taking a strong theoretical orientation,

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1 Lawrence Stenhouse, 'The Study of Samples and the Study of Cases' in Roger Murphy and Harry Torrance, Evaluating Education: Issues and Methods, Harper Education Series, London, 1987, pp. 74-80.

2 'Re-thinking case study', p. 48.

3 ibid.

4 ibid.

5 Lawrence Stenhouse, 'The Study of Samples and the Study of Cases', pp. 73-76.

6 There is a considerable growing literature on cross-site generalisations. See, for example, the 'Executive Summary' in R. Stake and J. Easley, Case Studies in Science Education, CIRCE, Urbana, 1978.

such as Smith and Godfrey's The Complexities of the Urban Classroom[1] and outside of education, the work of Festinger et al.[2]

From the standpoint of the present study, two important methodological issues appear to require further clarification. The first concerns the differences between the three studies offered, particularly with regard to the eligibility and collection of data, and the extent to which the data can be 'down to earth'. The second concerns the possibility of generalisation within each case and the possibility of an accumulation of insights between them. This involves taking a view on the inference span of the study, and whether any tentative contribution is possible to general theory in the areas covered.

4. The Three Cases

As indicated above, the thesis is built largely around three cases. The first is an exploration lying outside the immediate problems of Drama in Further Education, and might be considered as a background study seeking to clarify whether the problem posed ought more properly to be considered as an aspect of a wider problem emanating from tensions and ambiguities attending the perceived or actual role of Drama in the culture at large. The data is necessarily historical,[3] and in a form not initially sympathetic to the research questions posed, particularly with regard to 'periodisation' and 'arbitary time spans'.[4] There is also some

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1 See Louis Smith and William Godfrey, The Complexities of the Urban Classroom, New Y ork, Rinehart and Winston, 1969.

2 L. Festinger, et. al. When Prophecy Fails, Minneapolis; University of Minneapolis, 1956.

3 See E.P. Thompson, 'Anthropology and the Discipline of Historical Context', 1972 in R.G. Burgess, Field Research: A Source Book and Field Manual, London, Allen and Unwin, 1982, pp. 152-160.

4 Arthur Marwick (prepared for the Arts Foundation Course Team) Common Pitfalls in Historical Writing, Bucks, Open University Press, 1970; and Arthur Marwick Basic Problems of Writing History, Bucks, Open University Press, 1971.

need to justify the selection of 'instances', but the defence here is that a form of 'theoretical sampling'[1] suggested looking at Drama in both secure and contested hegemonic conditions. None the less, the actual choices have an element of arbitraries about them.

The second case study is a trend-seeking longitudinal study located intellectually in studies of social and cultural history and seeking to chart vicissitudes in the performed role of Drama in the precursors to present-day Further Education provision. Unlike the first case, which relies to a certain extent on literary interpretations from which inference may be drawn towards underlying social and cultural expectations, the longitudinal study depends much more upon historical data, and carries all the pitfalls identified by Marwick and others as besetting historical enquiry.[2] On the positive side, there is wide recognition of the value of placing local contemporary accounts in a broader historical setting as this itself minimises problems of local distortion, since it

> shares quest for objectivity and... likewise sets out to describe all aspects of the particular situation under study, or as many as are accessible in its search for the whole truth.[3]

The task of historical grounding, of course, becomes a necessity rather than a luxury with respect to neo-Marxist interpretations of social, economic and cultural phenomena.

Only the third case, the investigation of Drama in Sutton Coldfield College of Further Education, employs the full range of ethnographic techniques that might justify use of terms like 'portrayal', or which

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1 See Glaser and Strauss, The Discovery of Grounded Theory.
2 See Arthur Marwick, Open University, 1970 and 1972.
3 Mannheim, too, sees historical records as forming the basis for future action: see Ideology and Utopia, (translated Edward Shils) London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, pp. 126-130.

might lead one to describe the account as 'down to earth ... attention seeking'.[1] Also, Sutton College's position as a 'representative' case (representative status being important to the instance/class relationship, discussed in more detail above) is in the thesis theoretically determined in a more precise way, since Sutton College is taken to exemplify Box 4 instances as they emerged from the heuristic device of the two-by-two dichotomy. In so far as the case study of Sutton Coldfield owes a debt to Glaser and Strauss, it is less from the misguided popular view of 'grounded theory' (that it involves entry into the research setting in the hopes of serendipity - open, but shorn of all theory) than from their own view, absolutely exemplified in the title of their article 'Temporal Aspects of Dying as a Non-Scheduled Status Passage'[2], that there must be theoretical reasons for entering the setting in the first place. They make the point rather nicely by recognizing the

> cumulative nature of knowledge and theory ... ethnographic studies, substantive theories and direct data collection are all, in turn, necessary for building up by comparative analysis to formal theory[3]

With regard to what was considered eligible as data, the case of Drama in different historical conditions relied principally on the study of texts, critical accounts and relevant contemporary documentation. Perhaps, too, something needs to be said about regarding literary or dramatic texts as social data.[4] To regard a text as a valid representation of the culture in which it is embedded is itself to take

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1 Cohen and Manion, Research Methods in Education, op.cit. p. 31.
2 B. Glaser and A. Strauss, 'Temporal Aspects of Dying as a Non-Scheduled Status Passage, AJS, vol 71, 1965, p.p. 48-59
3 ibid.
4 See for example, Stephen Greenblatt, Shakespearean Negotiations: The Circulation of Social Energy in Renaissance England, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1988.

up a position in the sociology of literature. As far as possible, texts have been triangulated against contemporaneous critical commentaries,[1] extant documents of individual institutions and organizations[2], and other records[3], together with more recent reflective critical commentaries on the time spans under review.

The history of policy initiatives and the vicissitudes of Drama under changing conditions necessitated a study of policy documents, evidence of actual provision, and relevant texts. As the setting gets more local and recent, and more administrative documentation becomes available, this is added. Information was collected from various directives, including the publications of the DES, MSC, examining bodies, LEA's and regional and national advisory bodies. Contemporary documentation includes, in addition to the sources already mentioned, personal correspondence with Drama advisers (which attracted a 75% response), and routine information held in individual establishments (Prospectuses, Minutes of Meetings, Working Party Reports, Policy Statements etc.) together with 'hard' graphic and numerical data dealing with such matters as buildings, plans, projections, organizational charts, student statistics and evidence of productions. With regard to the Birmingham colleges, particularly Sutton Coldfield College of Further Education, this was backed by the full range of ethnographic techniques including indirect reportage, critical commentary, correspondence, semi-structured interviews and observation schedules.

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1 See for example, Cornelius Burges, The Fire in The Sanctuary, London, no publishers name, British Library, (STC 4111); Philip Stubbs, Anatomy of Abuses, London, 1538, reprinted 1882, London, no publishers name, British Library.

2 See for example, Minutes, Reports, Agendas of Hanley Mechanics' Institute held in Stafford Public Records Office

3 See for example, Parish Registers of Sutton Coldfield:1603-1924, Warwick County Record Office, Shire Hall, Warwick.

5. The Possibility of Generalisations and the Span of Interference

We have already touched upon the question of how generalisations might be derived from the singular contexts of case study research.[1] The general validity of tentative formal or naturalistic generalisations derived from particularistic studies is widely attested in literature in the writings of researchers such as Stake[2], Stenhouse[3], Parlett[4], Lipsett, Trow and Coleman[5], and Adelman, Jenkins and Kemmis[6], all of whom testify to the possibility of generalising from the particular. The possibility of generalisation is the single procedure common to all three cases in this thesis.

It is necessary, however, to distinguish between generalisations within a case, treating it as a bounded system worthy of exploration in its own right, and generalisations from a case, outward towards the class of instances from which it is drawn.[7] Although each case study attracts the first kind of generalisation, there is also the hope that the methodology of accumulated cases, theoretically grounded as it is, will allow tentative generalisations beyond the strict span of inference of the studies towards the underlying logic of the problem itself, the cultural antipathy between Drama and Further Education.

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1 See for example, Lawrence Stenhouse, 'Case Study in Educational Research and Evaluation', p. 6.

2 R. Stake,'The Case Study Method in Social Inquiry', in Simons, (ed), Towards a Science of the Singular, pp. 62-75.

3 Lawrence Stenhouse, An Introduction to Curriculum Research and Development, London, Heinemann, 1973,

4 Malcolm Parlett, 'Training for Case Study Research and Evaluation', in Simons, (ed) Towards a Science of the Singular, pp. 240-250.

5 S.M. Lipsett, M. Trow and J. Coleman, 'Generalizing from a Case Study: Problems of Analysis', in Oscar Gensky and George Miller, (eds), the Sociology of Organizations:Basic Studies, London Collier Macmillan, 1970, pp. 169-174.

6 Adelman, Jenkins and Kemmis 'Rethinking Case Study' in Simons,(ed) Towards a Science of the Singular, pp. 45-61.

7 ibid.

6. Schedules and Adminstrative Details

The semi-structured interviews in Sutton Coldfield College of Further Education, involving staff from across the whole spectrum of curriculum subjects, began in July 1986. All staff holding 'unique' positions including the Principal, the Vice Principal and each Head of Department were interviewed. Other interviews were with the Drama Section Leader, and the lecturers responsible for Adult Training and Adult Education respectively. The need to canvass a range of perspectives, ideologies and interests was secured by selecting interviewees with differing backgrounds, varying periods of employment in the College, varied age-ranges and so forth. Access was also obtained to personnel other than the teaching staff. These included support staff, staff who had retired from the College, staff who had been promoted to posts elsewhere, and teaching and advisory staff in other colleges. The interviews were all structured around perceptions of institutional history, the role of Drama, and potential directions in which College policy might move. The interviews with holders of 'unique' posts were extended to explore the extent to which situational perspectives might be associated with their roles. As indicated previously, all interviews were taped, selectively transcribed, and subject to subsequent content analysis. The interviews were conducted conversationally, and emerging issues pursued, even if lying outside the original schedule.

At the beginning of each interview the participant's permission to use the audiotape was always sought. Although permission was never overtly refused, several interviewees appeared distinctly uneasy in the presence of the recorder. When this circumstance was noted, an excuse was always made to turn off the device and rely upon detailed field notes, a back-up system used for all interviews, whether taped or not.

Footnotes in the main body of the text describe interviewees in terms of their post description, in order to signal possible interests and to avoid a confusing array of names. This Appendix offers a full list of interviewees with names, post designation and date of interview. The list is arranged in date order.

Those interviewed were asked if they would be prepared to back their account by providing personal records and documents and thirty-one agreed. This supplemented the wide and varied body of documents relating to the history of the College and the development of Drama, including maps, photographs, drawing plans, teaching/student records, students' work and prospectuses. Tape-recordings of student activities going back to 1969, were provided by the Head of the General Studies Department, and videotapes of Drama and Drama-related activities were made available by lecturers in charge of Drama, Speech and Drama, Communication and General and Media Studies.

There were no constraints upon the writer to anonymize any information. On completion, a draft of the Sutton College case study was submitted to the Principal and one Head of Department for criticism and comment. The writer feared that some unforeseen 'sensitive' areas had emerged in the case study which could affect senior management's views on the advisability of anonymity. But in written replies, both the Principal[1] and the Head of General Studies[2], re-emphasized their wish for clear identification of all issues and origins.

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1 Written answer from Principal, 7 June 1987.
2 Written answer from Head of General Studies Department, 9 June 1987.

List of Interviewees:

Date of Interview	Name	Position
27 July 1986	Christopher Morris	Vice Principal
8 September 1987	D. Graham	Head of Health and Community Studies and Youth Training
10 September 1986	E. Sutton	Head of Department of Engineering & Science
11 September 1986	P. Wilby	Lecturer I in Communications until July 1987. Now LII in charge of Public Relations
18 September 1986	Penny Pemberton Beverley Anderson Mumtaz Hussain	Students on CPVE course 1985-86
20 September 1986	M.J. Cooper	Lecturer in English and Drama
29 September 1986	Donald Crisp	Retired Lecturer. At Sutton Coldfield Institute 1944-48
10 October 1986	C. Dolley	Lecturer II responsible Adult Ed. and Access
12 October 1986	F. Phillips	Deputy Head of Business Studies Department
17 October 1986	P. Betty	Birmingham LEA TRIST Staff Tutor. Was LII General Communication Studies SCCFE to 1985
19 October 1986	B. Hall	Lecturer in Engineering & Science
19 October 1986	B. Thorogood	Senior Lecturer in Adult Training
7 November 1986	R. Isom	Senior Lecturer in Business Studies
18 November 1986	R. Hollyhock	Principal
18 November 1986	Security Officer	Reliance Security Services, Surety House, Birmingham
1 December 1986	Rachel Riordan Anne Nichols	Second Year Students of Nursery Nursing
3 December 1986	F.A. Little	Head of General Studies Department
4 December 1986	R. Howell	LII in charge of CPVE and Multicultural Ed. until November 1986
5 December 1986	G. Patrick	LII in charge of CPVE (Ethnic Minority)
12 December 1986	G. Thomas	Senior Lecturer in English, Speech & Drama
19 December 1986	Sara Morton	Student of Drama/English 1973-4

Date of Interview	Name	Position
7 January 1987	Lesley Hill	Lecturer I, responsible for Dance and PE
7 January 1987	J. Wheale	Former Lecturer in charge of Communication at Sutton College
8 January 1987	I. Greaves	Lecturer in Business Studies
9 January 1987	S. Murray	Lecturer II Business Studies/Accounts/Data
12 January 1987	H. Ash	Lecturer II Business Studies (clerical)
12 January 1987	G. McNally	Lecturer II in charge of Speech & Drama
13 January 1987	C. Brookes	Senior Lecturer CPVE and Staff Development
14 January 1987	S. Andrews	Lecturer II in English, Classics (Drama until 1975) NATFHE official
15 January 1987	Valerie Smallwood	Part time Lecturer-Speech & Drama
15 February 1987	J. Brennan	Senior Lecturer in Business Management
27 February 1987	P. Weightman	Lecturer in General and Social Education
1 March 1987	D. Westwood	Lecturer II in Science and Engineering (BTEC) Mathematics
1 May 1987	B. Kerby	Lecturer in English & Communication
26 June 1987	M. Hopkins	Senior Lecturer-Communication, English & General Studies NATFHE (national) official
16 July 1987	J. Kelly	Lecturer II Economics
7 May 1987	M. Tierney	Lecturer II in General and Media Studies
Teaching materials provided by M. Cooper, (above) on M. Benwell (deceased) until 1976		Lecturer in charge of Speech & Drama
14 September 1987	F.A. Little	Re-interview:Head of General Studies Department
9 September 1987	G. McNally	Re-interview. Lecturer in charge of Speech & Drama
9 January 1988	G. McNally	Re-interview. Lecturer in charge of Speech & Drama
11 November 1988	Patrick Hayes	Part-time lecturer in Speech & Drama

Date of Interview	Name	Position
16 April 1988	F.A. Little	Informal interview: Head of General Studies Department
12 May 1988	Jill Cable	Newly appointed (1.4.88) Lecturer in charge Speech & Drama
11 August 1988	Paul Newton	Senior Lecturer in Business studies & NATFHE official
11 August 1988	Gerald McNally	Re-interview (telephone conversation)
27 July 1989	G.W. Webster	Secretary of Parity Trust (Drama for the Physically Disabled)
25 October 1989	G. McNally	Previously lecturer in charge of Drama, Sutton Coldfield College of Further Education; currently Senior Lecturer in Drama, Newcastle-upon-Tyne College of Higher Education
15 November 1989	F.A. Little	Head of General Studies Department

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TITLE DRAMA IN FURTHER EDUCATION: A STUDY IN CULTURAL MARGINALITY.

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AWARDING BODY Warwick University

DATE 1990

THESIS NUMBER DX186272